

The Canadian antiquarian and numismatic journal / [Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal].

[S.l. : The Society], 1872-

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89077139707>

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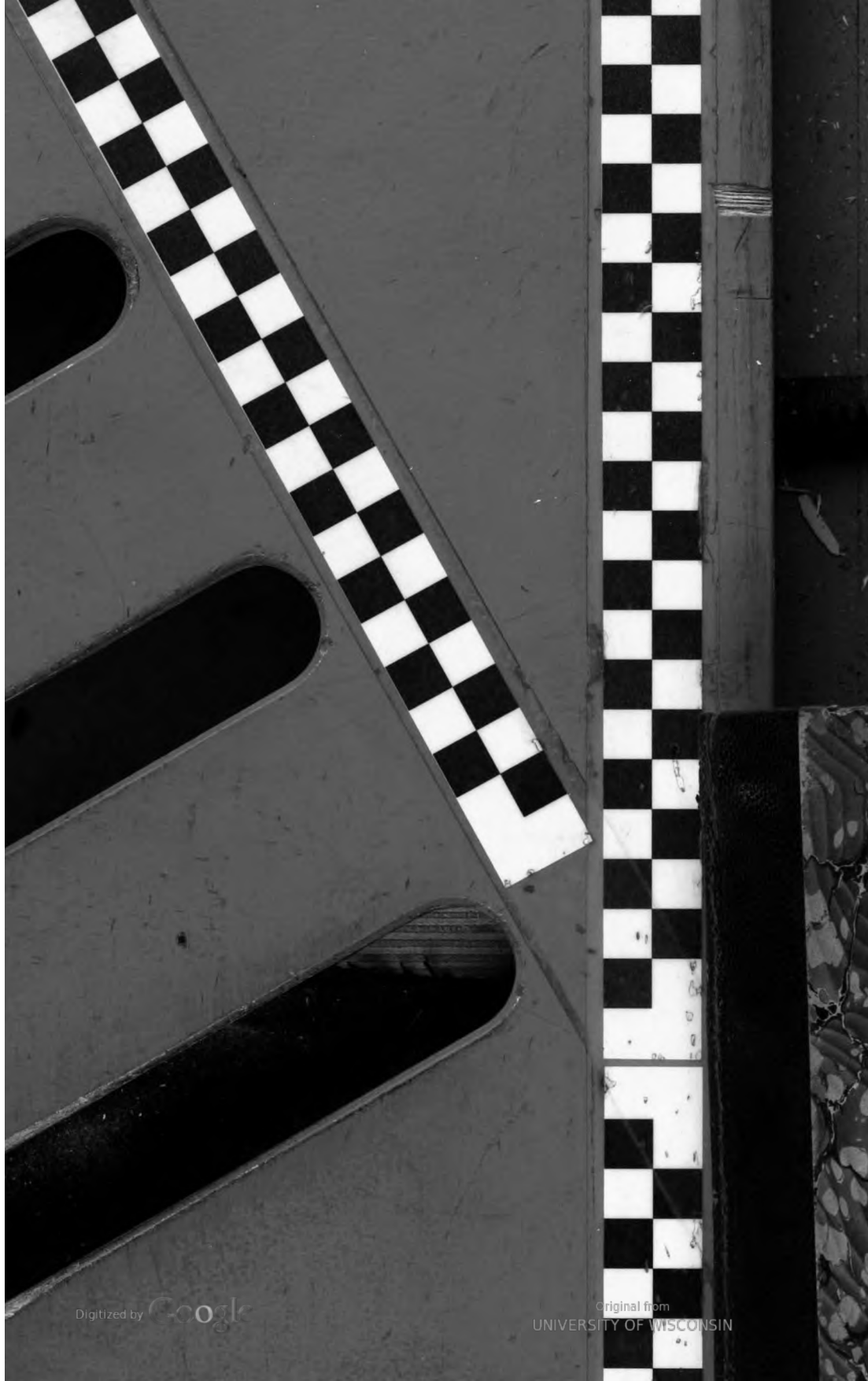
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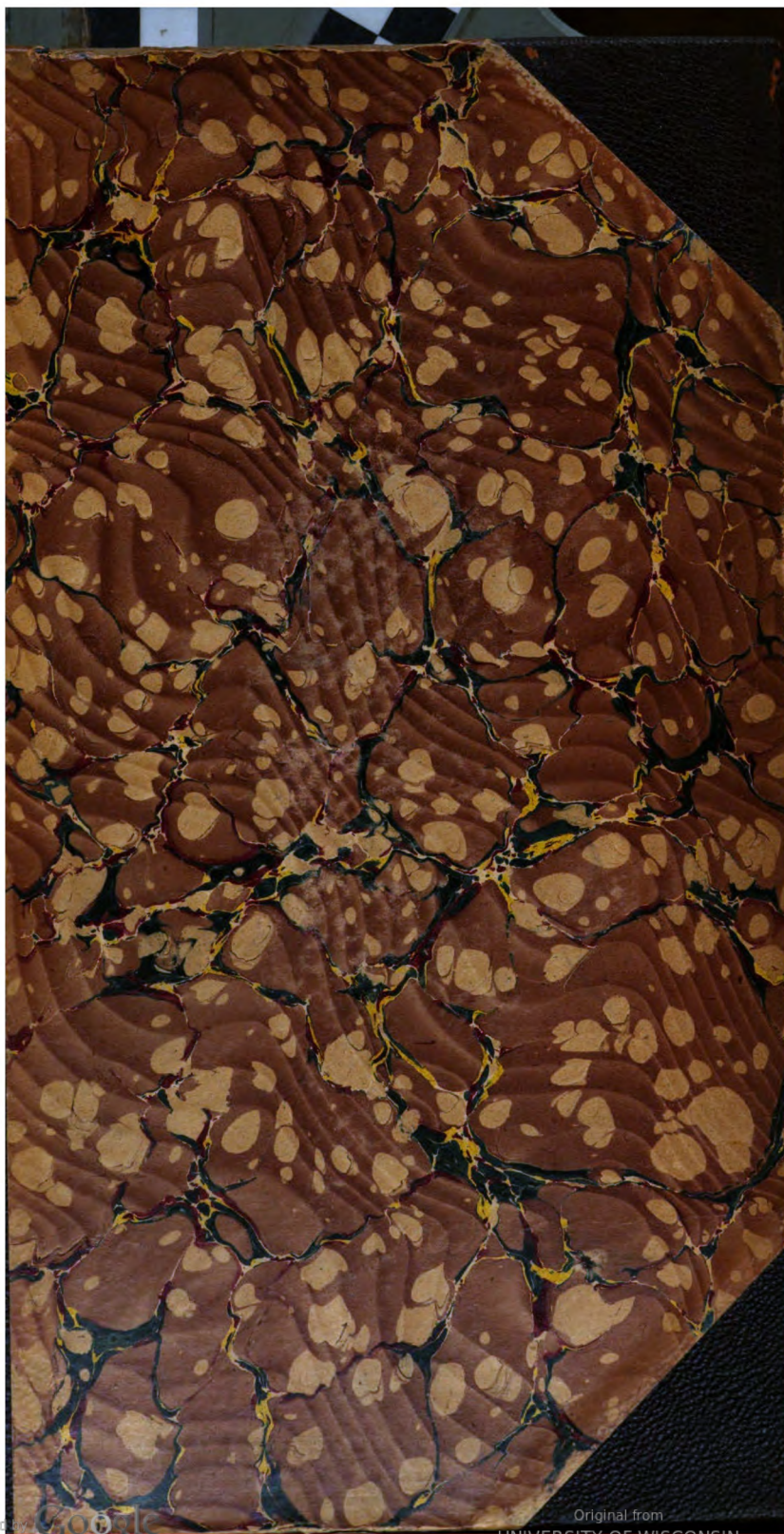
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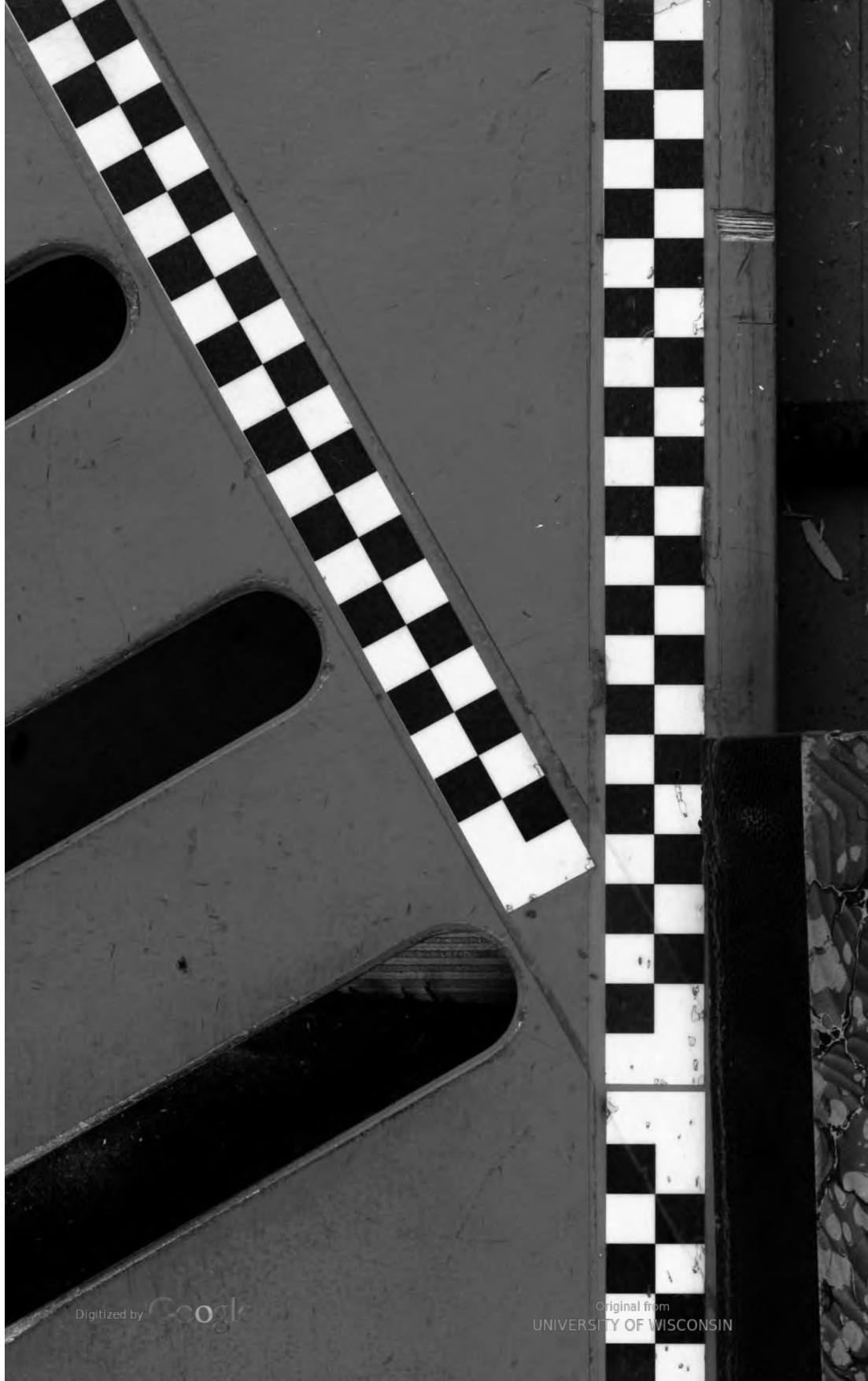
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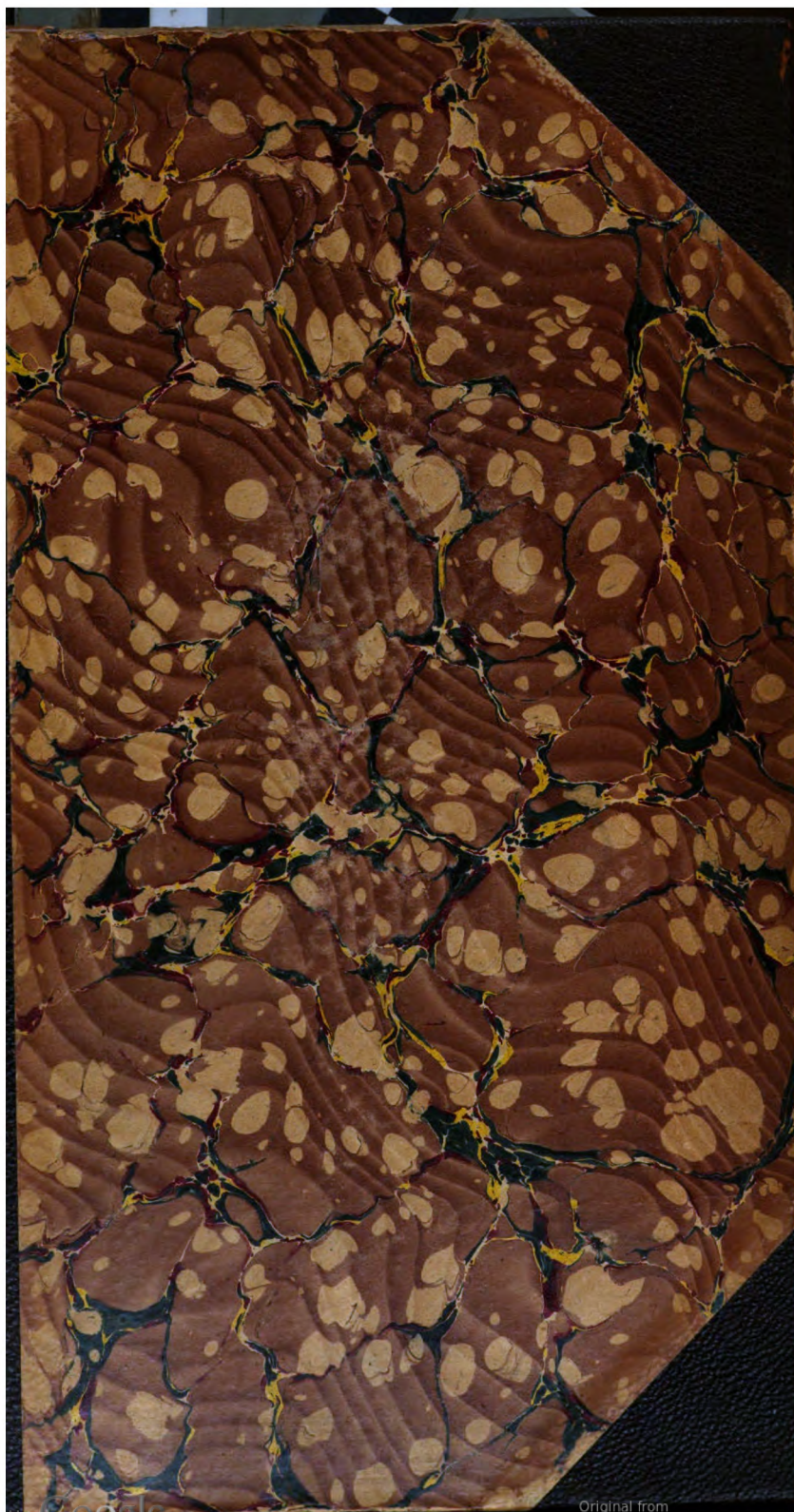
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THE CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

Third Series

Vol. IX

1912

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JEANNE MANCE.

From the Portrait in the Château de Ramezay.

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THE CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

3rd Series. Vol. IX.

JANUARY, 1912

No. 1

JEANNE MANCE

NOTE:—Few of the public are aware of the rich heritage which they possess in the original documents and registers preserved with reverent care in the Archives of State and Church dating from the earliest days of the founding of the City. They are not only invaluable for reference as official records, but it is to such authentic sources that the Historian, the Antiquarian, and the Romancist must apply for the basic facts underlying their productions. Upon these time-worn pages may be read the Acts of Civil Status which relate to the chief events in the life of the individual—his birth, marriage, and death. In the concessions, agreements and contracts bearing the signatures, as principals or witnesses, of Governors and Ecclesiastics, Soldiers and Laymen, whose names are notable in our annals, may be traced the life of the citizen in his relation to the community; and in the *greffes* of the old notaries are preserved the Deeds by which he transferred his property while living, and disposed of it by Will after his death. Here, indeed, is not only what Parkman calls “true history”, but, to the visioned—eye, a story redolent with the breath of zeal, daring, and adventure as any Crusade, and forming, as he also well says, a veritable “Romance of Christian Chivalry”.

The Editors hope to print from time to time, in whole or in part, as excerpts or in *fac-simile*, some of the more important of these records. The present number of the Antiquarian relates exclusively to Mademoiselle Jeanne Mance, one of the most heroic figures in Canadian story, and the documents are printed with the approval of distinguished personages both clerical and lay. Although they have been cited or mentioned, they have not yet been published *in extenso*. The publication of these early documents, and the consequent multiplication of copies, not only ensures their preservation but affords the ordinary reader an opportunity of informing himself in a way

not otherwise easily possible. Those which follow were some two years ago transcribed by Doctor T. A. Brisson, of Laprairie, a conscientious lover of old manuscripts; but Mr. E. Z. Massicotte, the Chief Archivist of the Court House, in whose charge they are, has later collocated them anew, taking special care that the transcription be as faithful and accurate as possible. It is felt that the reading of them will enhance the admiration which Canadians, without distinction of origin or belief, have always had for this distinguished woman who was at once the Founder of the Hôtel-Dieu and the trusted counsellor of Maisonneuve, the Founder of the City. The brief Memoir which here follows is from the pen of Mr. Massicotte, freely rendered into English.—THE EDITOR.

MEMOIR.



HE figure of Jeanne Mance shines with a glory incomparable in our History!

She was born about 1606 in Nogent-le Roi, which stands today in the *Département d'Eure-et-Loire*, France. She belonged to a family which gave to the world men noted in Magisterial and Military life. At the death of her father in 1640, and being unfettered in her actions, she felt herself drawn towards the work in New France. Leaving La Rochelle in the company of Maisonneuve in 1641, she wintered in Quebec with the infant colony, and in the spring of 1642 came to assist in the foundation of Montreal, where she became so illustrious. From this year, until her death in 1673, she lived here, except for the time occupied in several visits which she

made to France, inspiring the people, then as now, by her example and unbounded devotion. This saintly woman not only assisted at the birth of the great Canadian metropolis, but powerfully aided in ensuring its continuous existence by inducing colonists to come and settle, and in procuring funds for its maintenance. Endowed with an energy which would be remarkable in a man, this frail woman had no fear in leaving her native land and civilization to become a leader in an expedition destined to found a new colony in a strange and barbarous country, and to succor the maladies and afflictions which were the lot of the colonists in their strife against the elements and the ferocious Iroquois. The necessities of the work to which she had consecrated herself produced in her a fervor of devotion and an exaltation more than human, for she possessed an unalterable confidence in the Supreme Master.

The documents which follow give an idea of the ardor of her faith, and significantly indicate the responsibility which she assumed in becoming the Sister of Charity *par excellence* of Ville Marie.

The Abbé Faillon has published a work on Jeanne Mance to which the reader, desiring to study her life in fuller detail, is directed.

TESTAMENT ET 1er CODICILLE.

1669: 3e Juin

Et 16e fevrier 1672.

Testament olographe De Damoiselle Jeanne
(Mance)

administratrice de Lhospital de Mont-
real avec Un codicile du 27e
May 1673, fait par Mons.
le Curé dud Lieu.

dellivré expédition aud S'Souïart le 23e Juin 1673:
et aux dames religieuses de Montreal.

Au nom du pere du fils et du st esprit
Amen

En La presence de mon Dieu Je Jeanne Mance
fille Jouissante de mes drois etant en La charge
de Ladministracion de Lhospital de st Joseph de
Montreal et demeurant audi Lieu, conessant La-
La certitude de La Mort et Lincertitude de Lheu-
re dicelle de mon propre mouvemant et volonté
Je fait ceste declaracion de mes dernieres volon-
tes par ce presant testamant que ie veux stre
effectué apres ma mort.

Je proteste de vivre et de mourir dens La
vraye foy et Religion de La sainte eglise catho-

lique Apostolique et Romaine que ie tiens et Re-
conois pour La seul vraie eglise hors de Laquelle
Il ny a point de salut Je croy tout ce quel croit et
Japrouve tout ce quel aprouve et Je renonce de
tout mon coeur a tout ce quelle desaprouve.

Je La Revere ie Lonore et La reconois pour ma
seule et vraie Mere vouant une entiere et par-
faite obeissance comme sa vraie fille pour toute
ma vie et pour toute Leternité, quoy que i'en
sois Tres Indigne.

Je remets mon esprit et mon Ame entre Les
mains de mon Dieu mon Souverain Seigneur et
createur me soubmettant tres humblemant et
dens Le plus profons Respect quil mest possible
a Lordre sacré de sa tres adorable Tres sainte
Tres Juste et Tres aymable voLonté voulant et
aggreant de tout mon coeur pour Le reste de ma
vie et pour toute Leternité tout ce qui Luy plai-
ra dordonner sur moy Esperant de son Infinie
bonté et misericorde Le pardon de mes pechez
que ie Jete dans Labime Infini du precieux sanc
et merites Infinis de Jesus christ mon sauveur
et Redempteur qui est Le seul et Lunique Apuy
de toutes mes esperance et de La beatitude que
Jespere de Le voir et de Laimer eternellement.

Jabandonne mon Ame a sa Tres Adorable et
Divine providance me soumettant et aggreant
La Mort qui Luy plaira de manvoier et Le temps

et La maniere dicelle Laissant Le soin de ma sepulture à La prudence et discession des Religieuses de cest hospital pour estre Inumé au Lieu et place quel Jugeront plus convenable.

Je veux aussi et ordonne que toutes Les choses qui ce treuveront dans mon apartement comme meubles habis Linges, vaisselles et generalemant tout ce qui mapartien et Les vivres et provisions qui ce treuveront tant en La cave quau greniers soie partagee egalemant aus Religieuses et aus pauvres de cest hospital.

Je veux ausi et ordonne que Toute Les choses qui me seront envoiee de france et qui mapartiendront et generalemant tout ce qui mest ou me cera deu Lors apres ma Mort par droit de succession ou donacion ou par quelque autre voie ou maniere que ce soit ou puisse estre ou ariver soies aussi egalemant partagee aus susdites Religieuse et aus pauvres de ceste hospital.

Je declare que ie ne point fait de dettes pour moy en mon particlier et que toutes Les choses qui ce treuveront estre doüe tant yci quan france après ma Mort ont esté faite pour Les besoins et neccités des pauvres de cest hospital.

Je nonme pour executeur de mon presan Testament Monseigneur Lilustrissime et Tre Reverendissime Evesque De Petree nostre tres digne prelat supliant Tres humblement sa grandeur

Et dens Le plus profons Respect quil mest possible qui Luy plaise de me pardonner ceste hardiesse que ie prand d'avoir oze Le nommer pour une chose de sy petite consideracion mais que ie creu estre necaicaire pour Le bien et Le repos de ceste Maison et afin que ny mes parans ny autres ne viene a troubler ou Inquieter ceste Maison.

Je suplie tres humblemant sa grandeur de L'avoir agreable et que sy tos que ie ceres Trepassee Les portes de mon Apartement soies fermee Au dehors, et que tout mes papiers tant pour mon particulier que pour Lospital et Les Lestres qui me seront envoiee de france, Luy soies mise entre ses mains, et qui Luy plaise de faire prier Dieu pour le repos de mon Ame.

cest dequoy Je suplie tres humblemant sa grandeur et que Jespere de sa bonté pour Lamour de Dieu

fait par moy sousignee Administratrice de cest hospital a Montreal ce troisieme de Juin mil six cent soixante neuf en La Maison ou ie fais Ladministration de Lospital qui apartien ausy aus pauvres du dit hospital signe par moy Jeanne Mance.

Je veux et desire quan Labcan-
ce de Monseigneur Levesque
de Petree Monsieur soüart soit

16 fevrier 1672 executeur de mon presant Tes-

tamant et Luy absant ie desire
et veut que ce soit Le superieur
Eclesiastique des Seigneurs de
Lile de Montreal

fait audi Montréal le 16 fe-
vrier mil six sent septante deux

Jeanne Mance

Parraphé par moy greffier de L'ordce de Mons.
le Baillif de LIle de Montreal, de ce jour, ne
Veritur, ce dix neufie juin 16 c. soixante treise.

Basset
greffier

SECOND CODICILLE.

Auiourdhu y vingt Septiesme Jour de May Mil
Six Cent soixte et Treize est Comparue parde-
vant nous Prestre et Curé de Nôtre-Dame de
villemarie en L'Isle de Montreal en la Nouvelle
France Damoiselle Jeanne Mance fille Jouissan-
te de ses droitz Administratrice de L'hospital de
St Joseph dud Lieu, laquelle nous a dit et decla-
ré que n'ayant pas La facilité d'escrire presente-
ment a cause de son infirmité estant neant moins
Saine d'Esprit et d'entendemt vouloit par forme
de codicille et ordonnance de sa derniere volonté

JEANNE MANCE.

Je nomme pour l'exécuteur de mon prochain testament
 Monseigneur-Libérateur et treizeurandisme surques
 Notre, notre, très digne, prelat suppliant très humblement sa
 grandeur et dans la plus profonde respect qu'il me soit possible
 qui lui plaise de me pardonner cette hardiesse, que de
 grand d'avoir osé le nommer pour une chose de si grande
 considération mais que je crois être nécessaire pour
 bien et le repos de cette Maison, et afin que ny mes parents
 ny autres ne vienne à troubler ou inquiéter cette Maison
 Je supplie très humblement sa grandeur de l'avoir approuvé
 et que si les autres ne croient pas les paroles de mon
 testament soient fermes en dehors, et que tout mes parents
 tant pour mon particulier que pour l'hospital et les autres
 qui me seront envoie de France, soit mise entre ses
 mains, et qui lui plaise de faire provision pour le
 repos de mon âme.
 cest de quoy Je supplie très humblement sa grandeur
 que l'aprouve de sa bonté pour l'amour de Dieu
 Fait par moy sousignée Administratrice de ce thospice
 a Montreal ce troisieme de Juin mil six cent soixante
 sept en la Maison d'Administration de l'hospital
 par moy Jeanne Mance.

Je veux et desire que l'abbaye de Monseigneur-Libérateur
 Notre, Monsieur-Joart soit l'exécuteur de mon prochain
 testament et lui abrant le desire et veut que ce soit
 sur le dernier signe Fait audy Montreal le 16 feunie mil six cent septante
 sept.

Jeanne Mance
 11. me. le 15. fev. 1772
 Paraphé par moy Jeanne Mance
 et par le notaire public de ce pays Me. Gauthier, cc. 2. et neuf
 Pour qd. l'original est
 de la Cour de la ville de Montreal
 de la Cour de la ville de Montreal

Photographic reproduction of the concluding portion of holograph Will, showing Signature. From the original in the Archives of the Court House, Montreal.

outre et pardessus son testament Olographe et codicille estant au bas de son dit testamnt et Signé en datte du Seizi. fevrier Mil Six Cent soixte et douze fait et escrit de sa main des L'année Mil Six Cent Soixte et Neuf Le Troiziesme Jour de Juin et quelle a mis CLos et cacheté entre Les mains de la Rde Mere Superieure des Religieuses qui deservent, Led'hospital avec cette inscription C'est icy mon Testamet faire et ordonner par ce present Codicille ce qui ensuit

C'est ascavoir quelle veut et ordonne que Le Jour de Son decez outre Le Soin quelle prie bien humble. Les Reved. Meres hospitalieres de ce Lieu de prendre de ses funerailles auxquelles elle se raporte pour Le tout, L'on dise une Messe Solennelle des deffuncts, une autre Le trois' Jour, une autre Le Septiesme une autre Le Trentiesme et une Cinquiesme Le Jour de son Anniversaire, Le tout conformement au dessein et a L'ordre de la ste Eglise et pour Le Repos de son Ame.

Item elle Veut et Ordonne dans Le même dessein et pour la même fin que l'on fasse dire Cent Messes basses tout le plustost que lon pourra apres sa mort

Item veut et ordonne que L'on donne a L'oeuvre et fabrique de la paroisse de ce Lieu La somme de Cent Livres en une fois payée pour estre

lad somme Employée a La batisse de La nouvelle Eglise encommencée.

Item veut et ordonne quil soit encore mis Entre Les mains de Lad fabrique une autre somme de Cent Livres en aussy une fois payée, pour estre employée a la structure d'un Tabernacle pour mettre Le tres st Sacre. dans lad'Eglise priant Monsr Le Curé qui sera pour lors d'en avoir soin et dy tenir La main ne voulant pas que lad'somme soit employée à autre chose, Sil ne le Juge plus a propos

Item veut et ordonne que Immediatement apres sa Mort L'on mette Angelique de Saily qui est mainte' aupres d'elle, entre les mains de La Soeur Marguerite Bourgeois ou a celle qui tiendra sa place dans lad'Maison La priant d'en prendre Soins et que pour cet effet l'on luy donnera ce qui Luy Sera necessaire pour Sa Vie et Son entretien Jusques a ce que lon puisse la remettre entre les mains de Sa Mere ou du moins Luy en donner des nouvelles qui ne peut estre au plus qu'un an, passé lequel temps Lad' Testatrice ne pretend pas que L'on luy fournisse rien

Item veut et ordonne que l'on prenne pour Lacquit des presens Lez contenus dans ce codicille ce qui sera de besoins sur Les avances quelle a faite aux pauvres dud' hospital selon les comptes qu'elle en a dressez

Item veut et ordonne que sur ce même fond il en soit encore osté une Somme de deux Cens Livres et quelle donne à la Soeur Marguerite Bourgois et a sa Communauté en reconnoissance des bons Services quelle et Ses autres Soeurs luy ont rendus Les suppliant toutes de bien prier Dieu pour elle et de loffrir à Notre Seigneur.

Voulant et Entendant que toutes ces choses soient fidellement executez comme estant Sa dernière volonté quelle a reconnu estre telle que dessus apres luy avoir Leu et releu ce present codicille qu'elle a dit bien entendre et avoir pour agreable

fait et passé à Montréal dans la maison de lad' Damelle Jeanne Mance le jour et an que dessus en presence de Messre François Dollier de Casson prestre Superieur du Seminaire de ce Lieu de Messre Gabriel Souart Prestre et Ancien Curé de cette paroisse, de Mre Pierre Remy sousdiacre demeurant dans Led' Seminaire Tesmoins a ce requis qui ont signé avec moy Prestre Curé de Ville-Marie.

françois dollier	Jeanne Mance
Remy	G. Souart
	G Perot
	Curé

Parraphé, par moy greffier, sousigné de l'ordce. de Mons. le Baillif de Lile de Montreal

de ce jour, Ne Varitur, ce dix neufie. Juin 16c
soixante et treise.

Basset
greffier

INVENTAIRE.

1673 : 19e Juin

Inventaire des biens meubles Tiltres et Enseigne-
mens de deffunte Damoiselle Jeanne
Mance vivante administratrice de
l'Hospital de Montréal.

Lan 16 c. Soixante & Treise Le Lun-
dy dix-neufième Juin, environ six heures du ma-
tin, Nous charles Dailleboust Escuyer Sieur des-
muceaux Baillif, Juge Civil & Criminel de Mont-
réal Sur le requisitoire du substitud du procu-
reur fiscal de l'Isle de Montréal en la nouvelle
france qui nous Adit & Remontré, que le decedz
de Damoiselle Jeanne Mance, Vivant adminis-
tratrice des biens & Revenus des pauvres de
L'hospital dud Montreal, estant arrivé du jour
d'h'yer sur les dix heures du soir, il seroit neces-

saire de procéder par Voye de Scellé Aux biens, Tiltres & Effets dellaissez, apres le Trespas de ladte. Damoiselle, D'Autant, quil ne parroise en ce pays Aucuns de ses héritiers, Ou presomptifs outre, que lad' deffunte Damoiselle peut avoir fait plusieurs debtes de son Vivant, Joint, quil A Interest, que les biens des pauvres dud hospital dont ladte. deffunte Damoiselle estoit administratrice ne soient pas dissipez, et de Voir a qui l'administraon D'Iceluy, doit cy Apres appartenir, Nous requerant que Nous ayons A Nous y Transporte presentemt Ce que Nous luy Avons Accordé. & en sa pnce. et assisté de nre. greffier, Nous nous sommes Transportez, en la Maison dud hospital et ou ladte. Damoiselle est decédée, ou nous avons trouvé Son Corps dans Une chambre d'Ycelle Sur Un liet, avec la Damoiselle Dupuy, La Soeur Marguerite Bourgeois, superieure des filles de la congrgaon.

et en leurs presences, avons Scellé, les choses qui Ensuivent, Le Tout a la conservaon. des droiets de qui Il appartiendra.

Premierement en la chambre, ou est decedée La ditte Damoiselle, Un Cabinet façon debene a deux guichets avec un Tiroir, au dessous, & un dessus fermant a Trois serrures dont ne c'est trouvé qu'une clef, que Nous Avons Scellé en cire rouge, aux armes des Seigneurs de lad. Isle a Lentrée de la serrure qui ferme, et mis deux bandes de papper, au tiroir d'en haut, Une en bas, Avec cire rouge Audtes. Armes.

Item, Une petite, armoire de bois de chesne, a Un battant fermant a clef, que nous avons scellé, a l'entrée de l'ouverture de la serrure, et une bande sur led battant, et sur le membre D'Ycelle armoire, Scellé par les deux estremités,

Item, Un chaslit de bois de Noyer, garny, d'un Tour de liet de drap du sceau, avec Une petite frange de soye de plusieurs Couleurs ou est presentement le Corps de lade. Damoiselle, avec trois draps Une paillasse, Un liet de plume Une moyenne couverte blanche, Un traversin de plume, envelopé d'Une taye de toile, Un Ciel de liet d'Une grande Nappe ouvrée, Une Table de bois de merisier les pieds de chesne, sur laquelle il y a Un tapis de meme drap dusceau garny de pareille frange de Soye, et Un Lodier de toile imprimée sur led liet,

Idem, Une Morceau de tapisserie de bergame, qui Sert de rideau en ladte chambre.

Item, Un Meschant Tour de cheminée, de tapisserie aussy de bergame,

Item deux fauxteuils, garnys de même drap & frange,

Item, deux moyenne chaise de bois d'assemblage, avec Un quarreau de plume, couvert de tapisserie de bergame,

Item, Cinq petits Tableaux de cuivre avec ler. bordeure ou Sont representez Une ste. anne, Une vierge, & st. Joseph & st. Jean baptiste & st. francois de Salle, & Un petit miroir,

Item, deux petits chevets de fer, Une pelle a feu et Une paire de Tenailles Aussy de fer,

Item, en la chambre & Cuisine, de ladte. Maison Se Sont Trouvées les choses cy Apres,

Premierement

Un buffet, de bois de Merisier d'assemblage A quatre guichets, et deux tiroirs ferment A deux Serrures, ferments a deux clefs scellées, pour l'ouverture de chaque Serrure, Avec bande de pappier, et deux Autres bandes de mêmes pappier Tant sur lesd guichets que membre de ladte. armoire,

Item, Un chaslit de bois de chesne, foncé haut & bas, de planches de Sappin, garny, d'Un matelas de laine, sa paillasse, deux draps de Toile de brin, deux Couvertes blanches, Un traversin de plume, Avec Son tour de liet de Tapisserie de bergamme,

Item, Une Table de bois, dont les membres sont de merisier, le dessus de chesne, avec un Tiroir aussy de merisier.,

Item, Un petit Tableau, avec Son Cadre, représentant St. Charles boromé, Un autre, avec son Cadre ou est le pourtrait de feu M. de Ranty, Un crucifix, de pappier Sur Toille, avec ses rouleaux,

Item, Trois Meschantes Chaises de bois, Telles quelles

Item, Une Pelle a feu & Une paire de Tenailles aussy a feu, Une petite broche, Une Crémailliere Avec Une grosse grille de fer, au contrecœur de la cheminée, aquatre barres & deux traverses. Le Tout de fer,

Item, quatre Sceaux de bois ferrez, Tels quels

Item, dans le Cabinet de ladte. Cuisine Deux poison de Cuivre Jaune, apied, & aqueue, & deux Sans pieds.

Item, Une Passoire de Cuivre Jaune Une bassinoire de Cuivre, Un friquet de Cuivre Jaune, deux Tourtieres de Cuivre Jaune, Une grande & Une petite, l'Une sans couvercle, deux Cocquemars, de Cuivre rouge tels quels Trois petite Marmittes de Cuivre rouge avec Un Seul couvercle, deux poiles de fer, Une petite & Une grande, Une chaudière de deux Sceaux de Cuivre rouge, Une d'Un sceau & deux de Cuivre Jaune, Une autre moyenne chaudière de Cuivre Jaune de deux pots ou environ, Trois chandeliers aussy de Cuivre Jaune, et deux martinet de même nature, Deux Raichaux de Cuivre Tels quels,—

Item, Un petit mortier de fonte, Avec son pilon de meme nature,

Item, Une leiche fritte de Cuivre rouge, Un gril deux marmittes, de fer avec leurs Couvercles, l'Une petite & l'autre moyenne, Une paire de ballances de Cuivre rouge, Une poullie de fonte, pesant environ Vingt Cinq livres.—

Item, Sept poids de plomb a peser, pesant ensemble quarante sept livres,

Item, Une lanterne de fer blane, Une poisle a Confiture de Cuivre rouge, Une Meschante chaudière de Cuivre Jaune denviron Un Sceau persée de tous Costes et Un arrosoir aussy de Cuivre Jaune.,

Item, Un pot destin & Une pinte, Avec Cent Une Livres pesant destain commun, Tels quels, Tant en plats, salliere, Bassin, assiettes, escuellles a oreille, Vinaigrier, Saulçiers & Autres Vaisselles et Une Cueilliere a pot de fer,

Item Trois grandes haches deux neufve, et Une petite, trois grandes pioches presque neufves, Un gril de fer Un pain de Suif, pesant douze livres, deux Meschantes pioches et deux bonnes a manchées, Un tronge (?) et Un Cerelet de fer,

Item, dans Une petite chambre A Coste dela Cuisine du Coté du

jardin, Un grand Coffre de bois de Sapin, avec Sa Serrure Sans clef, dans Lequel Il y a de la chandelle, Une petite quaiſſe Sans Couvercle et Un petit pot de grais, que nous Avons fait Sceller, a deux bandes de pappier a quatre Sceaux & clouer de deux clous par dessus,

Item, Un Meschant Coffre de bois de merisier Dassemblage, avec Une petite serrure sans clef que nous avons trouvé ouvert, & dans lequel Il y a quelques hardes a L'Usage deladte. deffunte Damoiselle, & Iceuy cellé Avec deux bandes de pappier, par le devant Avec quatre Sceaux, & cloué d'Un seul cloux par dessus,

Item, quatorze planches de sappin, d'Une cloison, Embouvetées, Telles quelles, quatre seiges plians, Couverts de drap de Sceau gris avec frange de Couleur, Tels quels & Un Meschant fauteuil, couvert de meschante bergamme,

Item, dans Une Autre chambre, qui Servoit autres fois de chapelle, Un grand Bahut de Cuir noire, Sur Leql. a esté mis 2 bandes de pappier Au droict des Serrures, avec quatre Sceaux;

Item, Un Autre grand bahut aussy de Cuir noir, fermant A deux clefs, Sur les deux Serrures duquel a esté mis deux bandes de pappier Coe. dessus Avec quatre Sceaux..

Item, Un Autre Moyen bahut, trouvé ouvert avec Sa serrure, et Iceuy mis deux bandes de pappier par dessus l'ouverture des Serrures avec quatre Sceaux.

Item, Un autre Moyen bahut de meme nature que Sans clef, Auquel A esté Sur l'ouverture de la serrure Une bande de pappier A deux Sceaux,

Item, Une petite Cassette, de meme Nature fermant à clef, Sur la Serrure, de la quelle A esté mis Une bande de pappier, coe. dessus A deux Sceaux;

Item, Un Autre Coffre de bois de Sapin, Sans Serrure, ny clef, dans lequel Il s'est trouvé quelque Linge Salle, et autre meubles, que nous fait. Sceler, par Louverture de la Serrure, d'Une bande avec deux Sceaux et Une Autre bande de pappier, Tenant le couvercle & le devant dud coffre, Aux Deux Sceaux.

Item, Une grande Couverte blanche de Catalongnes deux demyes Couverte, de Normandie, demyes Usees, Trois pieces de Tappisserie de bergamme, Telles quelles, avec deux autres Meschants morceaux et Une petite couverture de placet,

Un liet, Un moyen traversin, Un petit, Un grand & deux oreillers Le Tout garny de plume, Un Matelas, de laine, de toile, deux petits

draps, deux taves d'oreiller et Une du traversin, Une serviette & deux Cornettes de toile, et Un sac de mosquette;

Item, Une Seringue destin, avec Son estuy garny d'Un canon dos, Une Meschante bassonnoire de Cuivre Jaune, Un Tourne broche de fer dans Une quaisse avec Toutte Sa garniture, Une paire de penture, Une grille, trois Meschantes haches, Un couperet, Une autre Meschante penture le tout de fer, Une Vieille chaudiere, dans laquelle il y a Toute Sorte declous environ Un Millier,

Item, dans Un meschant Barril, douse ou quinze Cent, de trois Sorte de clous,

Item, Un Morceau de fer & Une proche (broche?) a rotir, dans Un autre baril, environ Un minot de Sel, deux bouteilles de Verres façon d'hollande & Un flacon de trois chopines, Un Tamis de Soye monté, Une pince de fer, quelques Cordages, Une petite chevre de fer, Une grande Serrure avec Sa clef,

Led Jean Amé a dit & déclaré que dans la boulangerie Il y a appartenant à la Succession de ladte. Damoiselle Un coupe paste de fer, Une huehe, de bois de Sappin avec Son couvercle, Une poche de toile & Un Sas monté, & Une petite paillasse, Un merchant Tabouret & Un dessus d'Une petite Table de Sapin, & Un petit Tapis de bergamme, deux Reste de chenets rompus pesant environ trente livres de fer,

Item, dans Le grenier de la Maison dud hospital les choses qui ensuivent, Sçavoir

Environ quarante minots de bled froment, Et environ soixante minots de farine Sans Sasser,

Item, deux grandes paires de pentures de fer Un petit verrouil, Un couplet, & cinq morceaux de fer deux autres grands Verrouils aussy fer, Une scie de travers non montée, Un minot ferré, haut & bas de deux cerces, & meschante petite chaise & Une Scelle de bois a quatre pied avec Une poche de toile a mettre bled,

Item dans led grenier derriere la cheminée, deux Scies delong, avec Une montre, Une grille de fer d'Une fenestre Un coustre a fendre du bois, huit bandes de fer, pour roües de charrette, deux Meschantes Verrouil de fer, & tres meschant Casble de Corde, La porte duquel grenier ferment a clef, nous avons fait Sceller, la Serrure DYcelle et Une bande de pappier, avec deux Sceaux, et mis la clef entre les mains delade Damoisell Dupuy.—

Item, en la Cave de ladte. Maison ferment a clef du Costé de l'ap-

partement des Religieuses dud hospital deux grand Salloirs de lard
plaints, Tenant environ trois grands Cochons et Un autre moyen
aussy plein de lard,

Item, les deux tiers d'Une demye barrique d'eau de Vie, environ
Seize livres de graisse de porc dans Une tinette

Item, deux demye barrique de Vin, que led Jean Amé a dit estre
Aux soeurs de la Congregaon.

Item, Une demye barrique de Vin clair et A laquelle Il y en manque
environ Un quart, que lade. Damoiselle Dupuy, adit estre a elle, come.
l'ayant fait apporter dans Icelle Cave,

Item, Cinq Morceau de Cuir de Baudrier, pour faire Soullier, Un
costé de Cuir fort & Un petit Morceau,

Item, environ La moitié d'Une demye barrique de Vinaigre, Un
grand pot de grais de flandre, Une meschante barratte Sans garni-
ture,

Item, cinq fusts de barrique foncées, cinq Autres fusts de de-
myes barriques aussy foncées, et Une qui nest pas foncé, & deux mes-
chantes Tinettes, Vide,

Declare led Jean hamé, qu'il y a dans la Cave des Religieuses dud
hospital, Une barrique de Vin clair et Une barrique d'eau de Vie
pleine appartenante a la ditte deffunte Damoiselle Mance,

Item, en ladte. Cave de ladte. deffunte Damoi-
selle, Un grand Salloir Vuide, Sans Couvercle,
Avec Une meschante Tinette, la porte de laquelle
Cave ferment a clef par le dehors, avons fait
Sceller, sur la Serrure d'Ycelle d'Une bande de
pappier a deux Sceaux, et Une autre bande de
pappier qui tient d'Un bout au bois qui sert de
chassy a ladte. porte et d'autre bout a Icelle, eur
laquelle bande aesté apposé deux Sceaux come.
dessus, et a Une autre petite porte, qui est dans
la ditte Cuisine, Servant a ladte. Cave, Aussy
ferment a clef, Sur l'ouverture de la Serrure, de
laquelle, a esté aposé, Une bande de pappier

Avec deux Sceaux Comme dessus les clefs des-
quelles portes nous avons chargé lade. Damoi-
selle Dupuy,

et en attenda. que le sieur Dupuy Son Mary
soit Venu de sa Maison, du Saut St Louis en
cette Isle, ou on est allé le quérir, qui doit Se
rendre gardien du scelé et meubles cy des-
sus Inventoriez cy par nous Il est trouvé a
propos, et dans cet Intervale de temps sont sur-
venus, Mrs. Gilles perot prestre Curé de la pa-
roisse de ce Lieu, et Gabriel Souïart aussy pres-
tre & ancien Curé d'Icelle parroisse & Superieur
des Dames Religieuses dud. hospital, Lesquels,
Accompagnez de Mre françois Dollier de Casson
aussy pre. & Superieur des Prestres & Ecclesias-
tiques de Lade. Isle, qui Nous ont dit, que Come.
il estoit Necessaire de faire Incessamment de
L'hynumation du Corps de lade. Damoiselle
Mance, pour celebrer ses funerailles en la ma-
niere qu'elle l'a ordonné par Son testament qu'il
estoit Nécessaire, pour en faire les preparatifs
de faire ouverture & Lecture dud testament et
Codicille, fait par lade. Damoiselle Mance Aupa-
ravant que de nous transporter en la maison de
la grange dud hospital, ce que nous le. Avons ac-
cordé, et a l'Instant, Led Sr Curé Nous a fait
lecture en la pnce. que dessus, desd. Dames
Religieuses et du Substitud, du procureur

fiscal, du Dernier Codicile par luy receu, fait & ordonné par ladte. Deffunte Damoiselle apres quoy, la reverende Mere, Catherine Macé Supérieure ded. Dames Religieuses, Nous a mis en mains, Le testament olographe & Codicile de ladte. deffunte Damoiselle, mis par Elle en Despost entre Ses mains, Sur lenveloppe duquel sont Escripts ces mots de la main de ladte. deffunte Damoiselle Mance C'est Icy mon testament, et Iceluy Cachepté en Cire repnté par St. Joseph Tenant l'enfant Jésus par la main, Le Testament olographe en datte du troisie. Juin 16 c. soixante & Neuf escrit & Signé de Sa main au bas duquel est le premier Codicile, Escrit et Signé de Sa main, en datte du seisie. février 16c. soixante & Douze & le dernier Codicile Pareillement signé de sa main, en datte du Vingt Septe. may dernier passé. après l'ouverture duquel, lecture faite par nre. Greffier, avons ordonné, sur le requisitoire, dud Substitut, qu'ils soient parraphez par nre. greffier, Ne Verietur & mis en despost en nre. greffe pour y avoir recours, Tant pour leur exécution, que pour la conservaon. de ceux à qui Il appartiendra, et ont signé, avec nous, led. Substitut & greffier.

G. Perot
Curé

soeur catherine
Macé

françois dollier G. Souart C. D'Aillebault
Johan gervaise

Basset
greffier

Ce fait & a L'Instant, Sur le même requisitoire Dud Substitut du procureur fiscal, Nous sommes transportez Avec nre. greffier & en la presence dud Subtitud, et de ladte. Damoiselle Dupuy, en la Maison de la grange dud hospital, Scituée aud. Montréal, pour faire description & Inventaire, des Meubles, tiltres si aucun y a & Enseignemens Aud hospital, appartenant, qui nous ont esté monstrez et enseignez par Jean penie (ou pevis) occonome de la ditte grange, et Invetoriez Come. cy apres.

Premieremt.

Cinq Boeufs de Labour, Sous poil, Noir, Caille, rouget & Brun, de laage, les Uns de douze, de huit et cinq a six ans.

Item, Six Vaches Laictieres, de L'aage, dont la plus Jeune a deux Ans, & la plus Vieille Treize ans,

Item, deux Torreaux d'Un an. & deus Torres de pareil aage,

Item, quatre Jénesses de l'année, et deux Veaux.—

Item, quinze Cochons d'Un an & plus,

Item, dix nouritureaux, et Neuf de lait,

Item, Environ Cinquante Vollailles, & environ quatre Vingt petits poulets,

Item, dans le grenier de la Maison de ladte. grange Un gros Tas de bled froment, dans lequel Il y en a bien deux Cent Soixante minots, & Un aue. petit Tas de même bled, a Costé, que led Jean penie, a dit estre au Nommé Gaspard Bidelet serviteur domestique de lade. grange, Douze faucilles Telles qualles

Item deux minots à Mesurer, deux barrattes telles quelles, l'Une Avec trois Cercles de fer, & l'autre a Cercles de bois & Une grande Marmitte de fer qui est bien fendue.

Item, Trois Moyennes pentures, Une plus grande Une forge & Un Marteau, a faux, Une Meschante faux, Trois chesnes de Traisnes, Une Crouilliere de charrue Une fourche a deux doigts & Un Vieux Soc de Charrue Le Tout de fer,

charrettes

Item, environ Vingt livres de Vielle ferailles deux Ironnelles de

Item, environ six Cent de Bardeau, & Vingt Une planches de pain
a Couvrir

Item, Treise brasses de gros Cordages neuf & quatre de moindre
Valeur.

Item, Treise brasses et plus de chasble, & deux chassis de fenestre
de grosses Toile,

Item, Un autre Minot, et Un fust de demye barrique foncée d'Un
bout, trouvez au pied de Leschelle ou montée dud grenier,

Item, en la grange deladte. Maison, Un Tas de bled froment, non
Vané dans lequel Il en peut avoir de Net, environ quarante minots,

Item, environ soixante gerbes de bled froment et un Vent a Vanner
Tel quel & une pince de fer,

Item, de sus les poutres delade. grange environ quinze ou seize Ma-
driers de pain, tant en croustes que Madriers.

Item, dans la Cour de ladte. grange & Maison, deux charues gar-
nies, avec leurs essieux de fer, les roües non ferrées.

Item, Trois Selles de chesne, de Vingt sept pieds de long, sur
quinze pouces de hauteur.

Une charrette garnie de Ses roües ferrées et son essieu de fer.

Item, Un meschant Tombereau, et Une Meschante paire de Roües,
Sans ferré,

Item, herses, A chevilles de bois & Une roüe de charrette ferrée de
Ses bandes.

Environ Trois Cordes de bois de cordes, et trois fourches de fer,

Item, dans le lieu qui Sert de poullallier, quatorze fusts de barri-
ques foncées d'Un bout, et trois Bailles et Une petite Meulle a es-
moudre.

Item, dans Une chambre de ladte. Maison, Une grande Armoire
Neufve, de bois de sapin d'assemblage A deux battants, Servant A
mettre du lait, Sans Serrure ou Il y a treise bacquets Neufs & leurs
Couvertures de bois,

Item, Une chopine destain Commun dans Une autre Meschante Ar-
moire,

Item, huit poches de toile bonnes, de deux minots ou environ, Avec
quatre, que led Jean peni A dit estre chez le sieur de Belestre & Une
Autre chez la Damoiselle Closse, Une Cremaliere,

Item, dans la Cuisine de ladte. grange, dix Couvertes blanches,
Telles quelles, & deux Autres aussy blanches assez bonnes,

Item , Une grande Chaudiere de trois Sceaux & demy ou environ de Cuivre Jaune, Toutes trouées,

Item, Une grande chaudiere de Cuivre Jaune, de huit a neuf, que led Jean penis A dit estre chez lauson, Chaudronnier, pour la raccomoder,

Item, Une grande Marmite ronde avec son Couvercle, Un grand gril, Une meschante paire de pinsette, Une pelle Besche, Une Cre-malliere, et Une poile a frire le tout de fer,

Item, deux autres bacquets, & Un grand A mettre de la Cresme,

Item, Un grand Bassin Creux, & trois Autres moyens en forme de plats le tout destain commun—

Une Meschante Cueillere a pot de fer, Deux chaudiere d'environ trois Sceaux, chacune, de Cuivre rouge, bonnes, Une Autre d'environ Un sceau tres Meschante, Une petite chaudiere de Cuivre Jaune, d'environ deux pots, Un Couloir de Cuivre Jaune.

Item, Un Marteau de fer avec Son Manche de fer et grande plaine amanchée,

Item, Douse attaches de Cordes Telles quelles, Six Courroyes, a boeufs, quatre Jous a deux boeufs et quatre Jous de traisnes

Item, deux Meschantes pioches, quatre Meschantes haches, Un meschant croc, & Sceau ferré, Dans un Cabinet environ trente livres de Vieille ferrailles, trois Ironnelles et trois terrieres telles quelles,

Item, deux Meschants Mettelas de bourre, Une petite chesne de fer avec Une Corde aupres de ladte. grange,

Toutes Les quelles choses cydessus ainsy Scel-
lées et Inventoriées, Nous avons estably pour
gardienne D'Icelles, Ladte. Damoiselle Dupuy,
dans l'attente que le Sieur Son Mary soit de Re-
tour, comme devant, arriver Ce Soir en cette
Ville, dont nous Le chargerons de Nouveau, de
ladte. garde, Come. Le plus propre & plus affec-
tionné pour la Conservaon. du bien desd pau-
vres, & S'est ladte. Damoiselle gardienne chargée
Volontairement de Toutes choses, et promis

Icelles représenter, ensemble les Scellées Sains & entiers Toutes fois & quantes que par Justice en Sera requise, et A signé Avec nous Lesd Substitud & Greffier, Lesd Jour & an.

Jehan Gervaise C. D'Ailleboust
 Basset Janne Groisard
 greffier

Et Le landemain Vingtie. desd mois & an Nous charles Dailleboust &c Avons eu Advis que led Sr. Dupuy, n'a peut revenir du lieu, ou Monsieur le Comte de frontenac l'a Envoyé pour le service du Roy, dans le Temps que nous esperions, et Sur le requisitoire du Substitud du procureur fiscal, Nous Avons de Nouveau estably, pr. gardien desd Scellés et choses cy dessus Inventoriées Le nommé Bailly Sergent en nre. Bailliage conjointement & Avec lade. Damoiselle dupuy. lequel S'est volontairement chargé, Avec Elle du Contenu cy dessus et fait les Soubmissions ordinaires, et ont signé avec nous Coe. dessus.

 C. D'Ailleboust
 Janne groisard
 Basset f Bailly

Et lesd Jour & an. que dessus, Sont Comparus pardevant Nous Baillif Susd Mre. Gabriel pre. &c executeur Testamentaire de ladte deffunte Damoiselle Mance, Et Mre. françois Dollier de

Casson Aussi pre. & procureur de Messieurs Les Seigneurs de lade. Isle, Mre. pierre Remy Sous-diacre, et Ecclesiastique du Seminaire St. Sulpice de paris Au nom & coe. procureur des dames Religieuses hospitalieres dud Montreal, Legataires de lad. Damoiselle Mance, qui nous ont dit & Remonstré, Sçavoir Led sr. Soüart, qu'ayant appris que ce Jourdhuy Lesd Religieuses, Sur la Signifficaon. qui le. avoit esté faite de ce Jour, & Sommaton. de prendre & Accepter la charge de ladministraon. du Revenu temporel dud hospital, Conformement Aux Intentions de la feüe fondatrice D'Icelluy hospital, L'avoient refusé, et laissé a L'option de Mesd Seigneurs, qui auroit esté accepté en leurs noms par led Sr. Dollier Coe. Leur procureur en cette Isle, coe. en estant expressemt. chargé, par le Contract de La fondaon. dud hospital, Il estoit necessaire Tant pour le prompt execution dud Testament que po. faciliter Ladministraon. des biens dud hospital, qui est dans les besoins Urgeans de proceder, Incessamment A la levée desd Scellé et Inventaire, des beubles (meubles), Tiltres & enseignemens qui se trouveront Sous les Scellé, La Leveé A esté pareillement requise par led Sr. Dollier Remy, et Substitut, ce que le. avons Accordé, & A La Conservaon. des droicts de qui Il appartiendra, et pour Se faire nous nous Sommes

Transportez en la Maison dud hospital ou est decedée lade. deffunte Damoiselle, ou estant et en leurs presances Nous Avons Sommé, Lesd Bailly & Damoiselle Dupuy, de nous représenter les Sceaux, que nous Avons trouvé Sains & Entiers, lesquels nous avons levez Sçavoir, Premièrement, Ceux, que nous avons apposé Sur Un Cabinet façon de bois debaine, lesquels avons ouvert avec les clefs que lade. Damoiselle dupuy nous A remis entre les mains & dans les tiroirs D'Iceluy Avons trouvé les choses qui Ensuivent.

Premiermt. Six fourchettes, Six Cuillers, Une grande Esequelle A oreilles, Une grande Tasse & Une Moyenne, Le Tout D'argent fin pesant Ensemble Sept mares deux onces.-

Item, Un tiroir dans lequel S'est trouvé, Une grande paire de Cizeaux, neufs, Une paire de Lunettes, avec Son estuy garny d'argent, Vingt deux mouchoirs de toile fine Tant a moucher que de col, Un Tablier aussy de toile fine, Treise paires de poignets, Un mouchoir de Col, Uny, deux paires de gans Simples a femme, Environ, dix Aulnes de petit ruban de Soie Tant noir que blanc, Une Coiffe de Crespe noire, Telle quelle, dix huit petits bonnets de Toile a femme, Sept Cornettes, blanche de toile, Un paquet de bandeaux & bout de manches de toile, Contenant environ Soixante petites pieces,

Item, dans Un Autre Tiroir, Un estuy neuf garny de quatre Razoirs, et deux tilles à filer d'acier, Une boiste de Sapin, de huit dans laquelle Il y a des Esguilles A Coudre, Une autre petite boiste, dans laquelle Il y a quelques pieces d'Une monstre, Un paquet de Crochets noirs, Une Esguille a enbouttir des Corps & Un fuseau Avec Sa tille, Un estuy de Cuir bouilly garny de quatre lancettes, Un rouleau de laine blanche, environ deux onces de Girofle et Muscade, Un Canon d'yvoire a Seringue, Une poignée de ruban de laine, de Soye de fil,— & autres bagatelles, de peu de conséquence, deux petits paquets de fil Tant blanc qu'à marquer, deux bourses a Gettons dans l'Une desquelles sept Sols marquez, Cinq dets de Cuivre A coudre, trois petites limes amanchees;

Item, Un gros bonnet piqué de Taffetas noir Doublé de toile blanche, Un gros chappelet debaine & petit Reliquaire, Un paquet de Jartieres de Satin bleuf, Large de quatre doigts, Un petit pourtrait sur cuivre d'Une Religieuse, Une petite boiste a Confiture dans laquelle Il y a de la sey platte a Cachetter lettre, Une boiste de Sappin ou Il y a plusieurs Sortes de Soye, Un petit paquet contenant quelques morceaux; de camelet noir, Une boiste ronde Vernie, dans laquelle S'est trouvé, Un os envelopé d'Un papier, Un petit paquet de reliques de St Maximin, avec plusieurs autres petits pappiers qui Enveloppent des reliques Avec le. Inscriptions, Une Croix Dor esmaillée de blanc, Contenant Neuf rubis, Sçavoir Six gros & trois petis, Une Dor Esmailée de Vert & de bleuf,

Item, dans Un Autre Tiroir, dans lequel S'est trouvé Une monstre Sonnante a boiste d'argent, Une escharpe de Taffetas noir, Un bonnet piqué de Taffetas noir, Avec plusieurs paquets de différentes Soyes Un paquet de ruban de Soye de plusieurs Couleurs, Un peigne de buys, Une Moyenne paire de Cizeaux, Un petit estuy garny de quatre pieces, Un Autre plain desguilles, Un petit mouchoir de taffetas noir, Un paquet de Medaille de terre, Une paire de gans Simple deux bourses, dans lesquelles Il y a des plottons de soye,

Item, dans Un Autre Tiroir, Un paquet de fil despieux blancs, Un petit paquet d'environ douse livres de lin. Un paquet de petit cordonnet de fil blanc, trois coiffes noires, Une claire, & deux de taffetas, trois mouchoirs de taffetas noir, deux fourez & Un Simple, quatre Mouchoirs de Col de toile blanche,

Item, Un Autre Tiroir, ou S'est trouvé, Un Crucifix dyvoire, monté Sur Une Croix debaine, Un paquet de lassets de soye de plusieurs coule. quatre aulnes de toile blanche, Environ deux Aulnes de Taffetas, Couleur de Serize, trois aunes & demye de Serge de Rome noir ou raz de chaalons, Un petit paquet de soye noire,—Un paquet de dantelle de soye blanche A Guipure,

Item, Un Autre Tiroir Double, dans lequel S'est trouvé Une paire de brosse, Un poinsson de fer, Un tablier destamine buratée grise, Une paire de Cizeaux, Une Cappe de berandine doublée de taffetas noir, Un petit manchon et Autre petite bagattelle de peu de valeur Un estuy de bois ou Il y a deux paires de lunettes, Une escrtoire de bois de poirier, Avec son cachet d'argent representa. St. Joseph et le petit Jésus, Un estuy A peau, dans lequel Il y a trois peignes,

Item, Un Autre Tiroir, plain de pappiers dans Lequel S'est trouvé, environ quatre mains de pappier blanc, Un Registre relié, en parche-

min Sur lequel est eserit en Inscription, dUn Costé Livre de Despense generale de la grange, commencé Le premier Janvier 16c Soixante Six & de L'autre Costé, Recepte generale des fruiets & revenus de la grange de Montreal Commencé Le premier de ladte. année,

Item, Un autre petit regre. d'Une main de pappier Cousue, Contenant dUn Costé, 1666, Journal de Recepte particuliere, de L'administratrice de lhospital St. Joseph de Montreal, & de L'autre, 1666, Journal de Despence partiere. de L'administraon. de L'hospital St. Joseph de Montreal,

Item, Un pareil, registre, d'Un Costé duquel est eserit, 1666, Journal de despense faite a la grange par L'administratrice, de L'hospital, St. Joseph de Montreal et d'autre, 1666, Journal et recepte Commune de la grange, faite par l'administratrice de L'hospital St. Josph de Montreal,

Item, Trois Compte Contenant les receptes & Despenses faites par lade. deffunte Damoiselle Mance, Les Années 16c Soixante & neuf, soixante & dix & Soixante & Unze & Soixante Douse, Avec plusieurs feuilles Vollantes y Insérées attachées Touttes ensemble dUne espingle.

Item, six Vieux Journaux en pappier de différentes escritures, dont presque Tous les Articles sont rayez. avec plusieurs memoires y attachés avec des Espingles,

Item, Une quittance, passée par le greffier du lieu, en datte du, Vingt deuxie. sepbre. 16c L X I X, par Laquelle Appert que ladte. deffunte Damoiselle A payé a Nicolas Milet dit le bauceron & paul benoist charpentier, la somme de Sept Cent soixate. & quinze livres en bled, & Marchandise po. plusieurs Travaux, par eux faits aux bastimens de l'hospital,

Item, quinze feüillets de plusieurs papiers Contenant quelque recepte & Compte, Aucuns desquels sont rayez que nous avons fait mettre en liasse et attaché d'Une Espingle, et fait parapher chacune D'Icelle par nre. greffier.

Item, Unze Missives adressées a ladte. deffunte Damoiselle Mance par plusieurs particuliers qui ne sont pas de consequence.

Item, dans le grande Tiroir audessus dud Cabinet, S'est trouvé, Une guaisne A Cousteaux de table Contenant six Cousteau, Une Croix de Bois garnie de Nacque de perle.

Item, Un Tableau Sur Toile de feu, Monsieur Ollier, Un Sac, de Camelot double dans lequel S'est trouvé, Six paquets de lettres qui parroissent estre de consequence, que nous avons Touttes faites par-

rapher, par nostre dit greffier, le premier desqueles. Cotté, A, contient huit Lettres & Un memoire, Le Second paquet Cotté B, Contenant trois lettres & Un memoire, Le troisie. paquet, Cotté C. contenant Trois Lettres, le quatrieme paquet Cotté E, Contenant Trois Lettres, Le Cinquième paquet, Cotté F, Contenant Sept Lettres, et le Sixie., Cotté G, contenant trois lettres & deux memoires,

Item, Une obligaon. en pappier, passé pardevant De Montreau, Nore. Royal a la Rochelle en datte du, Vingt Unieme Juin 16c. cinqte. neuf par laqle. appert que pierre de Lugerat & Jeanne Crespeau Sa femme, ont reconnu Avoir receu de lade. damoiselle Mance, la soe. de deux Cent quatre Vingt dix sept livres Tour. avec deux commandemens au bas d'Icelle fait par bailly Sergent, sous la Cotte h. & parraphé,

Item, Un billet Sous Sain privé du Nommé Sabattier Signé de luy endatte du 18 Juillet 16c Soixante & douse, par laqle. Il promet payer aud hospital La soe. de trente livres Sous le Cotte J.

Item, un paquet de quictances des Religieuses dud hospital, Concernant la Despense faite pour Les Malades, et payée a Icelle., Sous la cotte L, parraphé coe. dessus au bas des Estiquettes, contenant Vingt quatre lettres.

Item, Une Liasse, de pappiers Contenant Sept pieces Tant lettres que Memoires, Sous La Cotte, M. & parraphé come. dessus,

Item, L'acte de la Compagnie de Messieurs de Montreal, pour ladministraon. du bien des pauvres de Lhospital, du. Vingt quatrie. Janvier 16c. Cinqte. Tous lesquels pappiers ont esté mis dans led Sac,

Item, Dans Une Autre petite armoire de chesne a Un battant apres avoir levé Le Scellé Coe. dessus, Se Sont trouvées les choses cy apres, Sçavoir Une petite boiste en quarré de bois, dans laquelle Il y a plusieurs Verres de Lunettes,

Item, Environ deux livres de Sucre dans Un houragan.

Item, les quatre Tomes du breviere en françois & Latin

Item, Un breviere Latin

Item, Des Espitres Des Evangiles du pere anthoine Girard.

Item, Le Nouveau Testament en françois

Item, L'Imitaon. de Jésus Christ en françois

Item, la parraphrase des psaulmes

Item, L'Instruction Chrestienne le tout relié en Veau,

Item, Trois Autres petits livres en parchemin Led Contenant la Vie de Mr. de Ranty

Item, Une livre de chandelle de Cire blanche,

Item, Un petit tableau de Nore. Seigneur Sur Cuivre.

Item, Un registre relié en parchemin, Sur L'Inscription duquel & d'Un Costé, est escrit, Livre de la recepte generale, de l'hospital St Joseph de Villemarie, Commencé Le. le premier Janvier. 1666, & de l'autre livre de Despense generale de l'hospital St Joseph, Villemarie Commencé le premier Janvier 1666., Contenant dix feuillets, escrit en partie & Rayez.

Et a L'esgard, des pappiers qui se sont Trouvez dans Iceluy Cabinet, Nous avons refermé Sous la Clef et remis & apposé, le Scellé, D'autant qu'il se fait tard, et parce quil nous a esté repnté par lesd Sieurs, quil est necessaire de remuer les farines qui se sont trouvé dans le grenier de lade. Maison, de peur quelles ne Se gastent & que Les boissons qui Sont dans la Cave pourroient Couler & Se gaster, ensemble, le lard, qui y est Le tout Ayant esté Inventorié lors de L'aposition. du Scellé, Nous avons levé, les Sceaux par nous y apposez & laissé le tout en la garde & possession ensemble les Autres effets, cy dessus Scellées & Inventoriées, desd Bailly et Damoiselle Dupuy, quy Sen sont chargez Volontairement & promis les repnter Touttes fois & quante que par Justice en Seront requises, & ont signé Avec Nous qui ont requis, de continuer, led. Inventaire demain, ce que leur Avons accordé.

françois dollier

G. Soüart

Jehan gervaise

Remy

f. Bailly

C. D'Ailleboust

Janne groisard

Basset

greffier



JEANNE MANCE.

Bronze Statue, by Hébert, in the Court Yard of Hôtel Dieu.

Et cejourd'hui, Vingt Unieme desd. mois & an.
A La Requete que dessus Nous Baillif Susd, et
Sousigné, Sommes Transporté, Avec Nre. greffier,
et en presences des requerans en la dte
Maison, pour continuer, A la Confection dud In-
ventaire, ou estant Apres quil nous a esté repre-
senté Les Sceaux Sains & entiers, par Ladte.
Damoiselle Dupuy et Bailly, avons fait lever le
Scellé, dud Cabinet, de bois de chesne a Un bat-
tant, que nous avons rescellé du Jour d'hyer, et
Iceluy ouvert, avons trouvé les choses qui ensui-
vent

Premieremt.

Quatre feuilles de pappier, escrittes & non escrittes, Contenant quel-
ques receptes et despence, faites par lade. deffunte Damoiselle Mance,
pour Monsieur de Maisonneuve po. lors gouverneur de la date. Isle,
que nous avons fait parrapher par more. greffier, Sous La Cotte, A.

Item, quatre Autres feuilles de pappier escrittes en partie et non
escrittes, contenant, lesd receptes & despenses pareillement paraphez
Sous la Cotte B.

Item Une, quittance duS'. de Mouchy de la soe. de Soixante livres,
faite a lade. deffunte Dlle. en datte du Vingt quatrie. juillet 16c.
Soixante & quatre Sous la Cotte, C. & parraphé coe. dessus.

Item, Une Liasse Contenant Vingt Une quittances faites par plu-
sieurs particuliers, a lade. Deffunte dlle. parraphées et Cottées D.

Item, Un Compte fait & dressé par Laditte deffunte Damoiselle, de
la recepte & Despense par Elles faites, des biens & revenus dud hospi-
tal, de L'année 16c. Soixante & trois Jusqu'au mois de Janvier 16c.
Soixante & quatre, Contenant Vingt Un Rolle & deux d'écriture, par-
raphé & Cotté, E.

Un aue. Compte fait & dressé par ladte. deffunte Damoiselle, de la
recepte & Despense par elles faites des biens & revenus dud hospital,
de l'année 16c. Soixante & Six, parraphé & Cotté cy.....f

Item, Une Liasse Contenant Vingt quatre Missives, de Talon, la

Dauversiere, de Maisonneuve, & Dolbeau, parraphées & Cotté.....f

Item, Une Liasse, Contenant Six Comptes faits entre ladte. Damoiselle Mance & Mons. de Maisonneuve, Cotté & parra.....G.

Item, Un accord, fait entre Ladte. deffunte Damoiselle, & led S' de Maisonneuve par lequel Appert, que de Tous les bastimens de la Mattairie dud Montreal, Il appartient La Moitié Aud. hospital, en datte du Vingt huitie. Novembre 16c. soixante & Un parraphé & Cotté. h.

Item, Un Recepicé dud Sieur de Maisonneuve, par le quel Appert, quil a receu du Sr Dolbeau, chapelain de la Ste. chappelle A paris huit cent Livres monnaye de france po. faire Tenir a ladte. deffunte Damoiselle Mance, en datte du Vingt Troisie. mars 16c. Soixante & Six, parraphé et Cotté.....J

Item, Un petit Inventaire des pappiers que la dame Dailleboust a remis entre les mains delade. deffte Damoiselle Mance, plusieurs pappiers, en datte du 12. Sepbre. 1665, Sous la Cotte L.

Item, Un Autre Compte de la Despense, faite par Lade. Damoiselle Mance, que de la recepte, pour led Sr. de Maisonneuve, contenant deux pages et demye Eserittes, Sous la Cotte.....M

Item, Une quietee du S. Robutel, a lade. Damoiselle Mance de Unze minots & demy de bled, du 7e. Juin 1663, Sous la Cotte.....N.,

Item, Une grosse Liasse de pappiers Inutile, parraphée & Cotté, O.

Item, En la Cuisine de la Maison dud hospital apres Avoir par nous, Baillif susd Levée le Scellé, dUn Buffet de bois de Merisier D'assemblage, A quatre guichets, a deux tiroirs ferment A deux clefs et Iceluy ouvert Avec Les clefs, qui nous ont esté baillées par lade. Damoiselle Dupuy & led Bailly, Avons trouvé les choses cy Apres.,

Premiermt. Dix paires de draps de Toile de brin Tels quels,

Item, Vingt six chemises, Neufves & Vieilles

Item, Une Tavoyelle de point Couppe, Telle qlle.

Item, Six dousaines Serviettes ouvrées & huit Serviettes, de lin,

Item huit Nappes de grosse Toile,

Item, Trois grandes nappes ouvrées

Item, Une Camisolle de Bazin.

Item, dans les guichets d'en haut dud buffet, quatre Sallieres, Une esguiere, quatre assiette, Une Cueillere apot et deux flambeaux. Un pied d'un aue. flambeau le tout destin,

Item, dans Une serviette, environ Une Livre & demye de Castonnade

Item, dans Un petit Sac de toile environ demye livre d'amidon, Une

livre & demye de ris & environ demye livre de poivre en grain Dans des boistes de bois & Le tout remis dans led Buffet.,

Item, apres Avoir levé le Scellé, d'Un grand Coffre de Merisier, dassemblage, trouvé dans la chambre A Costé de la Cuisine, et Iceluy ouvert, C'est trouvé Les choses cy Apres,

Premierement Une petite Cueillere a manche de Cuivre, Avec Son poison aussy de Cuivre Le tout neuf,

Itm, Unze couvercles de petits pots, de Cuivre Jaune,

Item, deux livres de fil Cru filé, Trois Morceaux de Canevas a faire Tapisserie, deux Caleçons Un de chamois & l'autre de bazine Une petite Camisolle, de Melton sans manche blanche, Une aue. Camisolle de ratine blanche Telle quelle. Une jupe de drap duceau Uzée, deux roigneures d'estoffe, trois garnitures de pleuche, de drap duceaux, garnis de frange de Soye,

Item, Une Camisolle a Usage de femme, de Serge doublé de peau de lapin, et Un Manteau pareil,

Item, dans Une autre chambre, qui Servoit autrefois de chappelle, et apres avoir par Nous Baillif Susd. Levé les sceaux par Nous posez et trouvez Entiers & Iceluy ouvert, ou s'est trouvé,

Premiermt. Un Morceau d'estoffe gris brun

Item, Neuf pieces de garniture de liet, de drap gris, garny en partie de frange de Soye de Couleurs,

Item, Une piece Roullau de laine coule. de Cerise No. 12:

Item, Un habit de Serge de Seigneur Noir a Usage de femme,

Item, Une jupe de Camelot de poil de chevre grise, Telle quelle,

Item, Une paire de bas d'estame blancs, neufs,

Item, quatre morceaux de futaine, blanche a poil contenat. Six au. et demye ou environ—

Item, en lade. chambre, apres avoir levé par Nous, Baillif susd, Les Sceaux, d'Un bahut de Cuivre noir, Sans Serrure, trouvé les choses cy Apres,

Premierement. Une Camisolle de Camelot gris doublé de peau de Lapin telle quelle

Item, Une Juspe blanche non achevée de grosse Ratine,

Item, deux autres Juspes, de Serge de Londres blanches,

Item, Une Cimarre (espece de soutane) D'estamine buratée grise brun. Neufve,

Item, Ung petit Coups & Une Jupe de Camelot gris Tels quels,

Item, Un Oyatte de toile pinte,

- Item, Une nappe & Une Serviette ouvrées Telles quelles,
 Item, Une Juspe de Ratine de florance
 Item, Un habit Complet avec Un Corps a Usage de femme de tamine buratée grise le tout Neuf,
 Item Un Vieux Corps destamine buratée, gris,
 Item, Une Juspe avec Un Juste a corps de Serge de londre grose a Usage de femme le tout neuf,
 Item, Une paire de bas de Ratine blanche et Une paire de bas de Toile blanche,
 Item, Une aulne Un tiers de toile de Mesly etenviron Trois quarts de Toile de lin,
 Item, deux piqueures de Corps, deux coutrememt. de Camelot noir, deux morceaux, destamine buratée, deux plottons de fil Cru, Un petit Cossinet de Cottonniers du pays & Une Couverte de Siege pliant de tapisserie non achevé,
 Item, Une Juspe, Camelot noir, Telle quelle,
 Item, en ladte. chambre, Apres avoir Levée le Seallé, d'Un Autre grand Bahut aussy de Cuir noir, ferment a deux clefs, et Iceluy ouvert, Avons Trouvé les choses cy apres.
 Premièrement, Un gros paquet de Laine blanche Destin, blanche, envelopé de pappier blanc & deux livres ou environ pesant,
 Item, Vingt quatre Morceaux de tapisserie Coupée a faire des ornemens d'eglise,
 Item, Trois grandes nappes et quatre serviettes ouvrées,
 Item, Une boiste de Sappin ou hoiste (Haiste), longue d'Un pied & demy ou environ. plaine. de soye platte a faire de la Tapisserie,
 Item Un Sas monté de Toile de Soye,
 Item, Un Moyen Bahut de Cuir Sans Serru. duquel apres avoir levé le Seallé par Nous Baillif susd appposé, avons trouvé, dedans ce qui ensuit,
 Premiersmt. Un petit Jesu de bois en relief avec Sa petite robbe de Satin envelopé d'Une Serviette,
 Item, trois paires de bas, deux de laine & Une de fil blancs,
 Item, sept petites Serviettes ouvrées a mettre Sur L'Estomac, Telles quelles.
 Item, deux Camisolles de futaine Telles quelles,
 Item, Une Serviette ouvrées & Une Vielle chemise a Usage de femme, & Une Cornette de Touloux noir,
 Item, Une escharpe de Tafetas noir a mettre Sur Le Col, deux Coiffes de taffetas noir, doublé de Cotton, & Une petite Coiffe de

Taffetas noir Simple, Un bonnet piqué de taffetas noir & deux bonnets de laine blans, Une paire d'urnes (urnes) A la Royale,

Item, Une paire de bas de toile, & deux mouchoirs de Col de toile,

Item, Trois paires Souliers a Usage de femme presque neufs,

Item, Un grand Coffre de bois de Sappin Sans Serrure, les Sceaux duquel apres que nous Les avons levez et Iceux trouvez Sains & Entiers, ou S'est trouvé ce qui Suit,

Premierement, quatre Livres Infolio Reliez en Veau, dont deux Tomes contenant la Vie des Saints, les deux Autres l'un d'Une partie de la bible en françois & l'autre Intitulé la Connoissance de l'amour de Dieu,

Item, Ung livre Inoctavo de la Semaine Ste. en françois,

Item, huit moutons en Cuir de basanne—

Item, Un morceau de Maroquin & deux morceaux de Veau,

Trente huit Serviettes telles quelles, Tant ouvrées qu'autres,

Item, quatre chemises a femme Telles quelles,

Item, dix mouchoirs Tres meschants—

Item, Une grande & deux petites Teyes d'oreiller Telles quelles,

Item, environ douze Livres Cotton blanc, quatre grand draps, & deux petit Tels quels, & deux bouts de manes le Tout tel quel

Item, Une petite Cassette de Cuir Noir, que Nous avons levé le Scellé, que nous avons trouvé Sain et entier, & Iceuy ouvert, avons trouvé les choses cy apres

Premieremt. Un Compte rendu par ladte. deffunte Damoiselle Mance, a Monseigneur L'Evesque de petrée, de Ladministraon. des biens & revenus dud hospital, les Années, 1659, 1660, et 1661, clos & Arresté le Vingt quatre may 16c. Soixante & Six, que nous avons fait parrapher par nre. greffier Sous la Cotte, P.

Item, Un Autre Compte pareillemt. rendu par Ladte Damoiselle Mance, a Mond Seigneur Levesque, de Ladte. Administraon., Les années 16c. Soixante & Six & 16c. Soixante & Sept. Clos & Arresté Le Cinquième 16c. Soixante & huit, pareillement parraphé & Cotté Q.,

Item, Un Contract en papier, passé, pardevant philippe Galois & charles Richer, Nores. Au Chastelet de paris Le Sixie. Juillet 16c. cinque Un, par lequel Appert, que Monseigneur le Duc Dangoulesme & Made. de la guiche Son Espouse ont Vendu & Constitué, Au profit dud hospital douse Cent Vingt deux livres, douze Sols quatre deniers de Rente Annuelle, au bas duquel contract, est Une Reqte. pntée au Sr. Lieutenant Civil du Chastelet de Paris, & Ensuite Un Acte passé

par devant Lesd Nores. Le Sixie. Juillet de ladte. Année, portant ratifficaon. du Contenu Aud Contract, par les fermiers desd Seigneurs & Dame, Lequel Contract, n'est quen Coppie Collationnée a l'original en parchemin par Muret & Son Compagnon Nores Aud chastelet, Lade. Collaon, dattée du dousie. fevrier 16c. Soixante & quatre, que nous avons fait pareillemt. parrapher Sous la Cotte, R.

Item, Un Contract en pappier, passé par devant, chaussiere & Son Compagnon aussy Nores, au ehlet de paris Le dix septie. Mars 16c quarante huit, par lequel Appert, que Mre. Gaston de Ranty et Dame Elizabeth de Balzac Son Espouse, ont Vendu & Constitué, Aud hospital, deux mil deux Cent livres Tour. de Rente Annuelle, parraphé Come dessus & Cotté...S.

Item, Un autre Contract en pappier, passé par devant Led chausier & Son Compagnon Le dix Septié. Mars 16c. quarante huit par lequel Appert, que Messieurs de fancamp, La Dauversiere, & autres y desnommez po. lors Seigneurs de Montreal, Suiva. les Intentions de la fondatrice D'Iceluy hospital, A adjousté, outre la some. de trente Six mil livres de premiere fondation La Somme de Vingt quatre Mil livres faisant en tout Soixante Mil Livres, parraphé & Cotté.....T.

Item, Une obligaon. en pappier, passé par devant de Montreau Nore. Royal A la Rochelle Le Cinquième Juin 16c. Cinquante Neuf par laquelle appert que Jacq. Mousnier Marchand, a fait Un traitté Avec plusieurs passagers y desnommez. pour la somme de dix huit Cent livres, Sous la Caution & promesse de lade. Damoiselle Mance en Marge de laquelle obligaon. est Un escrit Signé de la main, de lade. Damoiselle en datte du septie. novembre 16c. Soixante & Neuf, par lequel elle reconnoist Avoir esté Entierement Satisfaite desd particuliers ensuite de laquelle obligaon. Sont deux Acte, passé par devant led Nore. faisa. Mention du Contenu en Icelle, parraphée & Cotté..U

Item, Une autre obligaon. en pappier passée pardevant Led de Montreau, en datte du trentie. Juin 16c. Cinquante Neuf portant entre autre choses que la feüe Damoiselle Mance, a Reconnu devoir Aud Jacques Mousnier La some. de Trois Mil huit Cent quarante Cinq livres, Sept Sous Unze deniers, employez par led sieur Mousnier a la priere de lade. Damoiselle pour le payement de plusieurs Vivres, hardes & Meubles & Autres choses pour led hospital, ensuite duquel est Un Acte passé par devant led Nore. Le troisie. Avril 16c. Soixante & quatre, par lequel Appert, que lade. Damoiselle, a Sole & Acquitté Ladte. Somme Aud Mousnier, parraphé & Cotté cy....X.

Item, Une obligaon. en pappier passé pardevant Becquet Nore. a Quebec Le Sixie. Sepbre. 16c. Soixante & huit, par laquelle appert, que la Chesnaye Sieur du Lieu, est redevable par transport Au bas d'Icelle, Aud hospital, de la somme de Cent Cinqte. Livres, Sur quoy est Un Receu de la main de lade. deffunte non Signé, de la Somme de Cinquante quatre livres dix Sols en datte du div neufie Juillet 16c. Soixante & Neuf, parraphé & Cotté, A.

Item, Une quittance, en pappier passé pardeva. Thomas & Son Compagnon Nore. Au chastelet de paris du sixie. fevrier, 16c. Soixante & quatre par Laquelle, appert, que lade. Damoiselle Mance, reconnois avoir receu de la feme. du Sr. Desbordes La some. de Trois Mil quatorze Livres dix Sols po. deux Années escheües de la rente de Vingt deux Mil Livres en principal deue Aud hospital que de Cinq Mil Cent Trente Cinq livres dix Sols pour Anciens Arrerages, parraphés & Cotté. B.

Item, Une quittance, en pappier, passée par devant nre. greffier le quatorzie. May 16c Soixante & Neuf, par laquelle appert, que les Marguilliers pour lors de la parre. de c elieu, ont deschargé, Lade. Damoiselle Mance, des sommes, quilz pourroient Contre elle pretendre, pour les bois de charpente & Autres choses, quelle Auroit devoir a la fabrique, & ce pour Equivaler au payemt qu'auroit demander ladte. Damoiselle, de Loeuv parre. que les parroissiens & prestres D'Icelle parre. avoient fait Jusqu'aud jour de L'eglise dud hospital parraphé et Cotté....C.

Item, Un Contract en pappier, passé pardevant chaussiere & Son Compagnon le dixseptieme Mars 16c. quarante huit, par lequel appert que Led Sr. fancamp a promis faire Valloir au profict dud hospital huit Cent quatre Vingt huit livres dix sept Sols Neuf deniers de Rente Annuelle, parraphé & Cotté.....D.

Item, Un Contract de Concession en pappier, Signé Louis Segurier Secetaire de Messieurs les Associez pour la Conversion des sauvages de L'Isle de Montreal, par lequel appert qu lesd Seigneurs ont oetroyé & concedé, aud hospital deux Cent arpens de terre en lade. Isle, Sans le. payer aucuns Cens ny Rente & Simple foy et hommage. parraphé & Cotté.....E.

Item, Un Contract de Concession en datte du Vingt troisie. Janvier 16c Soixant & huit Signé Galinier pre. par lequel appert que led S. Galinier a Concedé aud hospital, la quantité des Terres, qui se trouveront non Concedées, au bout des hans qui Commencent a la grande

Riviere come. Il est plus amplemt. porté aud Contract, parraphé & Cotté.....f.

Item, Un Contract en pappier, Signé paul de Chomedy du huit aoust 16c Cinquete. quatre, par lequel, appert, que led Sr de Chomedy, a Concedé, aud hospital, La moitié de la Metairie appartenant aux Seigneurs de Montreal parraphé & Cotté.....G.

Item, Un Contract en pappier, passé pardevant Led Chaussiere & Son Compagnon. Le quatrie. Mars 16c Cinque. Cinq, portant ratifficaon. du dernier contract cy dessus Inventorié, parraphé & Cotte. h.

Item, Un Contract en pappier, Collaone. par Muret & Son Compagnon Nores. Au ch'let de paris lade. Collaon. en datte du Troisie. Janvier Mil Six Cens Soixante & quatre, La Coppie dud Contract en datte du Neufie. Mars 16c. Soixante & Trois, par lequel Appert, que les Seigneurs cy devant de Montreal nommez ont Concedé, Lade. Isle & terres en despendent A Messieurs du Seminaire St Sulpice de paris, parraphé & Cotté.....J.

Item, Un Contract en parchemin du septie. Juillet 16c Soixante & Six, Signé, Souart procureur desd Seigneurs, par lequel appert qu'il a concedé Au profiet dud hospital deux Cent arpens de terre en lade. Isle parraphé & Cotté.....L.

Item, Un acte, du Vingt troisie. novembre 16c. Soixante, par lequel appert que led Sr. de chomedy a mis en possession Led hospital des deux cent arpens de terre cy dessus Inventoriez parraphé & Cotté. M.

Item, Un Acte, Accordé a lade. deffunte Damoiselle par le Sr. de Saily Juge Royal du Sixie. fevrier 16c. Soixante, & Six, par lequel, elle a déclaré, quelle a Jouy Jusqu'aud. Jour de Sept arpens de terre Sur lesquels Les Maisons & Eglise dud hospital Sont presentemt Basties parraphé & Cotté.....N.

Item, Une quittance en pappier en datte du 3e aoust 16c Soixante & Dix Signé. C. LeMoyné par laqlle. Il reconnoist avoir receu de lade. Dlle. Mancee, La some. de Six Cent livres tour. parraphé & Cotté. O.

Item, Six Lettres escrittes a lad. Damoiselle par Monsieur Talon, parraphées & Cottées.....P.

Item, Un pappier, Contenant deux receus Du Nommé Banchaud, Le premier en datte du dix. Janvier, 16c Soixante & huit & le dernier du Vingt Sixie. fevrier de lade. année, parraphé & Cotté cy.....Q.

Item, Un Contract en pappier passé pardevant Led greffier, Le treisie. avril 16c Soixante & Sept, par lequel appert que la damoiselle Closse a reconnu avoir Vendu, au profiet dud hospital dix arpens de terre en Seule piece, parraphé & Cotté.....R.

Item, Une Sentence en pappier, par nous rendue par laquelle appert, que lade. Damoiselle Closse est Condamnée de payer, au Sr. Gabriel Souart Au profiet des Religieuses la soe. de deux Mil livres au bas de laqlle. est Un Commandt. fait a lade. Damoiselle par bourdon Sergent parraphé & Cottée.....T.

Item, Un Acte d'omologaon. du Contract de La Vente cy dessus desd dix arpens par nous rendu au profiet dud hospital parraphé & Cotté.....U.

Item, Un Contract en pappier de Concession en datte du deuxie Mars 16c. Soixante Collationné par led Greffier le dernier Mars 16c Soixante & Sept, par lequel Appert, que paul led Sr de chomedey a Concedé Au Sieur Closse Cent Arpens de terre en lade. Isle parrapré & Cotté.....X.

Item, Un acte Dassemblée, faite, de plusieurs amis de lade. Damoiselle Closse & autres personnes po. la delliberaon. faite pour la Vente desd dix Arpens de terre en datte du Vingt troisie. mars 16c. Soixante & Sept avec la sentence y Jointe portant permission de faire lade. assemblée. du premier Mars de lade. Année. parraphé & Cotté.....Y.

Item la Saisie faite des biens de lade. Damoiselle Closse, par lesd bourdon Sergent en datte du huitie. fevrier 16c Soixante & Sept parraphé & Cotté.....Z.

Item, La Significaon. d'un Arrest du Conseil du Roy a lade. Damoiselle Mance Par lesd Seigr. porta. evocaon du Conseil Touchant les affaires po la grange dud hospital en datte du troisie sepbre. 16c Soixante & Douze parraphé & Cotté..... cy avec Un acte conte- rant Les responses y Joint.P..

Item, Un acte de foy & hommage, par lade. Damoiselle Mance a MMess. de LIsle de Montrcal, a Cause des terres dud hospital, passé pardevant led Greffier. Le XXVI. Janvier 16c Soixante & Sept. parrap. & Cotté.Q.

Item, Coppie de L'acte de Mons. de Bretonvilliers pr recevoir les Rentes dud hospital en faveur de lade. Demoiselle Mance, Collationné par led Thomas & Son Compagnon Nores. Le VI. fevrier 16c Soixante & quatre. parraphé & Co.....R.

Item, Un Memoire des Meubles dud hospital, qu'a receus La Soe. de Bresolls. en l'année 16c Soixante & Neuf p. & C.....T.

Item, Un Memoire des choses que Lhospital a fournies a Leglise. qui ne sont Comprise dans led Inventaire para. & Cotté.....U.

Item, LInventaire des Meubles, Ustancilles & Bestiaux de la Metairie de Lhospital, en 16c Soixante & Un non Signé parraphé & Cotté. X.

Item, plusieurs Memoires du Sr. Migeon de ce qu'il a fourny a lade. Damoiselle parraphé & Cotté.....Y.

Item, Un Memoire de ce que peut devoir Mons. de Maisonneuve a ladte. Deffunte Damoiselle, Signé d'Elle le X X II. Sepbre. 16c Soixante & Neuf parraphé & Cotté.....Z.

Ce fait & apres que ladte. Damoiselle Dupuy et led Bailly, et Substitut du procureur fiscal, nous ont dit, quils ont fait Inventorier Touttes les choses, qui Sont Venues a leurs Connoissance, dellaissez apres le decedz de lade. Damoiselle Mance, Aux declaraon, quils ont faites, que lesd Religieuses ont par compte, Touttes les choses qui sont A Lhospital Servans Au pauvres, Nous avons Sur le Requisitoire dud Substitut desd Sieurs Dollier, Souïart & Remy Laissé Touttes les choses Inventoriées cy dessus en la garde & possession de lade. Damoiselle Dupuy & dud Bailly gardiens, par nous establis, conjointement Avec elle, Jusqu'à ce que led Sr Dupuis en ayt accepté la garde a son Retour & ont promis, nous les repnter Touttes fois & quante que par Justice en seront Comme despositaires des biens Inventoriez par Justice, & ont signé, ce fait Nous Nous sommes Retirez, Lesd Jour, & an.

françois dollier

Janne groisard Jehan gervaise

G. Souïart Remy

F. Bailly

C. D'Ailleboust

Basset

greffier

Aujourd'huy est Comparu pardevant Nous Charles D'Ailleboust Escuyer Sr Desmuceaux Baillif, Juge Civil & Criminel dud Montreal Mre. Jean Gervaise, substitud du procureur fiscal dud lieu, Lequel Nous A presenté La personne du Sieur Zacharie Dupuy, Escuyer Major dud Montreal, qui apres quil a dit avoir eu Connoissance, du Scellé cy dessus par Nous fait Sur le requisitoire dud Substitut, Levée D'Iceluy et choses y Inventoriées, Avons Iceluy Sieur Dupuy chargé & rendu Gardien, de toutes et chacunes Les choses Contenües Aud Inventaire, qui en a Volontairet. pris & Accepté la charge et garde, et promis Icelles, Conserver, et en rendre bon & fidelle Compte, quand par Justice en Sera requis, Comme depositaire de biens Inventoriez par Justice: Le Tout a la Conservaon. des droicts à qui Il appartiendra En ce faisant, Ladte. Demoiselle Dupuis & led Bailly, cy devant Gardiens Conjointemt. ensemble par nous establys, demeurent bien & Vallablement Deschargez, Ce faict par Nous Baillif susd, en la pnce. et du Consentement de Mre. françois Dollier de Casson, prestre, et procureur de Messieurs du seminaire St. Sulpice, de paris, à present Administrateur des biens dud hospital de Mre. Gabriel Souïart, aussy pre. dud Seminaire, et Executeur Testamentaire de ladte. Deffunte Damoiselle Mance, Et Mre. Pierre Remy Sousdiacre, Au

nom & Come. procureur des Dames Religieuses
dud hospital, Legataires de lade. deffunte Da-
moiselle, qui ont Signé ces prtes. Avec nous, Led
substutd, et Sieur Dupuy, et nre. greffier. Le
Vingt deuxie. Juin 16c Soixante & treise, du ma-
tin en la maison dud hospital.

Dupuis	
Jehan gervaise	francois dollier
G. Soüart	Remy
	Basset
	greffier

DEPOT DU COEUR.

1673

19e Juin

Acte de depost du coeur de deffunte Damoiselle
Jeanne Mance administratrice de l'hos-
pital de Montreal

Sur le requisitoire de
Me Gabriel Soüart pret. son
exécuteur testamentaire

L'an 16c soixante et treize & le dixneufième
Juin sur les huit heures ou environ du soir, sur
le requisitoire de Mre Gabriel Soüart prestre du
seminaire St Sulpice a ce present habitué en
l'Isle de Montreal ancien Cure de la paroisse de

lad. Isle & Mrs. D'Escolles (maître d'école) au nom & comme Exécuteur testament. de defunte damoiselle Jeanne Mance vivante administratrice du bien des pauvres de L'Hospital dud Montreal, lequel en la presence de Mrs Gilles Perot, prestre & cure de lad. pare. nous a requis acte de ce que, dans ladte. Damoiselle en la chapelle dud. hospital, son coeur en a esté séparé, et renfermé dans une escuelle destin couverte d'Ung couvercle aussy destin, et mis en despost dans ladte. chappelle, sous la Lampe d'Icelle, attendu, qu'on ne l'a peu enterer dans Le Lieu destiné pour L'Eglise parroissiale de ce lieu ou les fondemens sont seulemt. jettez & coe. n'estant pas encore benitte ny par consequent en estat de servir a la sepulture de deffunts suivant qe. ladte. damoiselle a souhaité de son vivant que son coeur y fut enteré & dont elle a verbalement. chargé led Sr Soüart en qualité de son Exécuteur testamentaire, aux protestaon. qu'il fait que d'abord que lad. Eglise, sera en estat de ce faire Luy sera transporte, led. Coeur sous la lampe de la ditte Eglise dont acte a luy octroyé par moy greffier & tabellion de la terre & Seigneurie de lad. Isle sousigne pour servir & Valloire ce que de raison & a signé Avec led. Sieur Perot.

G. Soüart

G. Perot
Basset
greffier

THE CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
 ACTE DE SEPULTURE.

Le 19 juin 1673
 Extrait de Sépulture
 de
 Jeanne Mance

Extrait des Registres des BAPTEMES, MARIAGES et SEPULTURES, faits dans la Paroisse de Montréal, sous le titre du S. Nom de Marie, dans l'Île, Comté et District de Montréal, Province de Québec, pour l'année mil six cent soixante-treize.

Le dix neuve. Juin de lad. Année A Esté Enter-rée Damelle. Jeanne Mance Administratrice de l'hospital de ce Lieu agée de Soixte. et Six a Sept ans prjse aud. hospital, son Coeur à esté mjs en depest soubs la Lampe de la chapelle dud. hospital qui sert maintent. de paroisse, Jusques a ce que L'Eglise encommancée soit en estat que lon l'y porte selon sa volonté dont acte a esté fait pardevant Le Sr Basset Nottajre.

G. Perot
 Curé

Lequel EXTRAIT, nous, soussigné, certifions être conforme à l'Original.

Au Bureau de la Fabrique,
 Ce 21 juin 1912.

N. A. Troie, Ptre S.S.,
 Curé de N.-D.



DOLLARD DES ORMEAUX:—THE COMBAT OF THE LONG SAULT.

From the Bronze Bas-Relief on the Maisonneuve Monument, by Hébert, erected on the Place d'Armes, Montreal.

THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

3rd Series. Vol. IX.

APRIL, 1912

No. 2

DOLLARD DES ORMEAUX

PAR E. Z. MASSICOTTE,

Archiviste du Palais de Justice, Montréal.

"Par l'intrépidité inouïe de son courage,
Dollard rehaussa magnifiquement la gloire
de cette colonie, dont il fut, sans contredit,
l'un des plus grands héros."

ABBÉ E. M. FAILLON

NOTE:—The flattering appreciation and generous reception given by Press and public to the reproduction of original documents connected with Mlle Jeanne Mance in the last number of the *Antiquarian* is very gratifying to all associated with their publication. It is hoped that the presentation in the present number of the original documents concerning another of our National heroes, together with the illuminative and sympathetic article by Mr. Massicotte dealing with the name and story of the popular idol, Dollard des Ormeaux, will meet with like warm approval. The matter of orthography treated of by the author raises his paper to the importance of a valuable historical document, which should authoritatively settle a hitherto moot question. The hint he drops as to his further good intentions respecting the storehouse of valuable material under his care, will be welcomed as a foretaste of many other good things yet to come from his facile pen.—EDITOR.



DAM DOLLARD, sieur des Ormeaux et ses compagnons occupent une place considérable dans l'histoire moderne.

Au lendemain de leur haut fait, naquit un sentiment d'admiration que le recul des années n'a fait qu'augmenter.

Ce sont les *Relations des Jésuites* qui instituent le culte de ces héros sympathiques. En effet, l'auteur de la relation de 1660, après une description copieuse du combat du Long Sault, termine son intéressante narration par ces paroles dont l'écho nous émeut encore :

"Il faut ici donner la gloire à ces dix-sept Français de Montréal et honorer leurs cendres d'un éloge qui leur est dû avec justice... Tout était perdu s'ils n'eussent péri et leur malheur a sauvé le pays."

Depuis, peu de nos historiens ont omis de mentionner l'étonnante prouesse de ces adolescents valeureux. (1)

Mais l'histoire n'a pas été seule à leur rendre un hommage mérité. Tour à tour, la poésie, le roman, le théâtre, la sculpture et la musique ont évoqué cette page resplendissante des annales canadiennes.

(1) Charlevoix, chose inexplicable, et Michel Bibaud sont au nombre de ceux qui ont ignoré Dollard.

Fréchette consacre à Dollard (malheureusement sous le nom Daulac) un chant de sa *Légende d'un peuple*; Hébert a buriné sa mort dans le bronze; un écrivain américain, Mary Hartwell Catherwood a fait sur Dollard une fiction qui s'intitule: *The Romance of Dollard*; George Murray, un écrivain anglais d'une grande érudition est l'auteur d'un poème intitulé: *How Canada was Saved* et qui a mérité un prix d'honneur; George Martin a choisi cet événement pour thème de sa ballade: *The Heroes of Ville Marie*; un frère des Ecoles Chrétiennes, puis le juge Bourbeau-Rainville font revivre Dollard sur la scène; Mlle Laure Conan l'a placé dans son roman *l'Oublié*; enfin, il existe un chant qui porte pour titre: *Le départ des braves du Long Sault*.

Cependant, dans toutes ces oeuvres, c'est l'imagination qui, le plus souvent, fournit la matière, car on sait encore peu de choses sur le compte de ces jeunes gens.

L'éblouissement causé par leur acte d'héroïsme sublime a fait oublier qu'ils avaient été des êtres terrestres.

Ils surgissent soudain, quasi mystérieusement à Villemarie, puis disparaissent, vers l'Ouest, sur les bords de l'Ottawa.

Pourtant, ces personnages d'un des plus nobles drames de notre histoire ont vécu à Montréal,

avant leur immortel combat; il leur a fallu se mêler aux diverses phases de l'existence des habitants de ce lieu et l'on doit, ici, trouver trace de leur passage.

Pourquoi n'essaierait-on pas de scruter, à nouveau, les registres de l'état civil et surtout, les documents notariés ou sous seing privé de l'époque? Tout ce qui touche aux êtres dignes de notre attention, excite l'intérêt et c'est parfois avec des détails insignifiants qu'on reconstitue une mentalité.

Il y a là une tâche ouverte aux chercheurs et nous avons pensé qu'on accueillerait volontiers ce très modeste travail.

Nous nous bornons dans ce numéro aux notes et documents relatifs à Dollard; ceux qui concernent ses compagnons verront le jour sous peu.

DOLLARD A MONTREAL.

Si l'on ouvre l'*Histoire de la colonie française*, à la page 389 du tome II, on voit que l'abbé Failon émet l'opinion que Dollard Desormeaux vint à Montréal, avec M. de Maisonneuve et les Sulpiciens, en 1657, et cet auteur en trouve la preuve dans le fait que Dollard signe, dans un acte de Basset, en date du 18 novembre 1657.

Cette preuve existe-t-elle en réalité?

Il y a deux documents, dans le greffe de Basset portant, extérieurement, la date du 18 novembre 1657. L'un d'eux est une cession et transport de terre par Charles LeMoynes à deux colons: Fontaine et Jousset. L'autre, est la copie du même contrat avec, au bas, à la date du *17 septembre 1658*, un transport du tiers de la dite terre par Fontaine et Jousset à Adrien Léger. Or c'est dans ce dernier acte que Dollard est présent?(1)

Dans le registre du tabellionage ces deux pièces sont aussi placées sous la date du 18 novembre 1657.

Faudrait-il dire que Dollard ne vint à Villamarie qu'en septembre 1658 et que l'hypothèse de l'abbé Faillon tombe en entier. Il y a là matière à réflexion.

Toutefois, il serait difficile de supposer qu'il

(1) Quant au document du 5 septembre 1658, cité par l'abbé Faillon, il contient trois actes: un du 5 sept., un du 10 sept. 1658, puis un autre du 4 oct. 1661. C'est dans celui du 10 sept. que Dollard figure.

Lorsqu'on songe que l'abbé Faillon travaillait avec cinq ou six secrétaires; qu'il lui était matériellement impossible de reviser l'immense quantité de notes qu'ils accumulaient et que l'habitude est de prendre comme date d'un document celle qui apparaît en premier lieu sur l'intitulé, on comprendra comment des erreurs de ce genre ont pu se commettre, sans qu'elles puissent jeter aucun discrédit sur cet éminent historien.

ait demeuré à Montréal plus tôt, car alors comment expliquerait-on pourquoi il n'est pas présent, le 29 déc. 1657 au contrat de mariage de Jacques Le Ber et de Jeanne Le Moyne, puis, le 18 février 1658, à celui de Michel Messier et de Anne Le Moyne, tandis qu'il assiste, le 15 septembre 1658 au contrat de Jacques Mousseaux et de Marguerite Soviot?

Jacques Le Ber, avait à peu près l'âge de Dollard et tous deux auraient eu forcément des relations ensemble. En outre, ces mariages des deux soeurs de Charles Le Moyne, l'un des plus considérables habitants de Villemarie étaient des événements dans lesquels un officier de la garnison ne pouvait s'abstenir de figurer. Aussi, y voit-on Lambert Closse, sergent major, et même Jacques Vautier, simple sergent.

Mais à partir du 10 septembre 1658 au 15 novembre 1659 il est présent et signe à seize actes divers passés devant maître Basset, et dans deux autres actes du même notaire, il est simplement mentionné comme étant présent. (1)

Par contre, il n'apparaît qu'une fois dans les actes de l'état civil et c'est en qualité de parrain

(1) L'abbé Faillon ne mentionne que onze pièces dans lesquelles la présence de Dollard est constatée. A l'époque où il travailla dans les voutes du palais de justice, plusieurs actes de Basset étaient égarés; de plus, le local où on les conservait se prêtait mal aux recherches méthodiques.

d'Elisabeth, fille aînée de Lambert Closse et d'Elisabeth Moyen, mariés l'année précédente.

Dans cet acte, daté du 3 octobre 1658, l'officiant qualifie Dollard de "volontaire", signifiant ainsi, suppose-t-on, que notre personnage n'était qu'attaché à la garnison, ou encore qu'il y avait pris du service librement.

Basset lui donne parfois le titre de commandant et parfois celui d'officier de la garnison.

A quel grade équivalait ce titre de commandant que d'ailleurs le même tabellion accorde également à M. de Belestre?

Dollard était-il, hiérarchiquement au-dessus de Lambert Closse à qui M. de Maisonneuve avait, précédemment, laissé l'administration de Montréal?

Cela n'est pas très clair, d'autant plus que l'abbé Faillon attribue presque l'insistance que met Dollard, au mois d'avril 1660, à ne pas attendre Closse, Le Moyne et de Belestre, à ce qu'il "était bien aise d'avoir le commandement de ce parti, afin de se distinguer par des coups de valeur qui lui servissent pour dissiper quelques difficultés qu'il avait eu, disait-on, en France". (1)

Autrement dit, si Lambert Closse, Charles Le Moyne et Picoté de Belestre avaient été de l'ex-

(1) Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie*, II, 398.

pédition, il aurait eu des supérieurs ou des égaux. Il reste, cependant, à débattre si c'eût été par suite de leur grade ou de leur expérience.

* * *

Cette question en provoque une autre.

Dollard avait-il l'intention de s'établir à Montréal, ou ne voulait-il qu'y séjourner un certain temps?

Une brève allusion, dans un document classifié récemment, autorise, croyons-nous, à présumer qu'il voulait demeurer ici et qu'il avait même obtenu une concession ou une promesse de concession de M. de Maisonneuve.

En effet, le 2 mai 1661, le gouverneur de Montréal concède à M. de Belestre, une terre de trente arpents "tirant vers Sainte-Marie, à commencer proche le fleuve". (1)

Cette terre est sise entre celle de Jean Valliquet dit Laverdure et celle de Paul Benoit dit le Nivernois.

M. de Belestre la reçoit à charge d'y bâtir maison et de payer entre autres choses "à la succession de feu Adam Dollard, la somme de 79 livres, 10 sols, pour 53 journées d'hommes que le défunt a employé à faire travailler sur la dite concession".

(1) Nous reproduisons cette pièce plus loin.

La terre que nous venons de mentionner avait déjà été cédée à Silvestre Vacher dit Saint-Julien, le 10 mai 1659.

Celui-ci n'en avait joui que peu de temps, car il se fit tuer par les Iroquois en octobre 1659, vers le lac aux Loutres (aujourd'hui, partie Sud du quartier Notre-Dame de Grâces).

Dollard n'en eut donc la propriété, tout au plus, que cinq mois, exactement comme le premier concessionnaire.

Il nous a paru qu'on aimerait à savoir où se trouvait ce lopin de terre et voici le résultat de nos recherches.

M. de Belestre acquit la concession de son voisin Valliquet et le tout, après plusieurs transactions successives fut acheté par MM. George Fullum et Louis Parthenais qui ont laissé leurs noms à deux rues traversant ces biens-fonds.

Ne serait-il pas convenable de partager cet honneur avec les illustres colons Dollard et de Belestre?

* * *

L'inventaire des biens meubles de Dollard indique à ne pas s'y méprendre qu'il ne vivait pas dans le luxe, car il possédait moins d'effets mobiliers que la plupart des habitants, même célibataires, qui décèdent avant lui. La somme totale de son avoir, d'après l'estimation qu'on en fait n'aurait été que de 85 livres.

Néanmoins, cet inventaire, lorsqu'on le compare aux pièces contemporaines ou antérieures de même espèce, laisse apercevoir aussitôt, que le défunt était d'une caste différente de celle des colons ordinaires.

Ceci ressort de la variété de sa modeste garde-robe et de la présence d'objets de toilette qu'on ne trouve pas mentionnés auparavant.

Cet inventaire nous apprend encore que Dollard avait formé une société avec le fameux Picoté de Belestre, ce docteur en médecine arrivé en 1659 et qui par goût, sinon par nécessité, guerroya beaucoup plus qu'il ne soignât.

Cette société devait avoir pour but le défrichement et la culture de terres en vue d'un établissement futur. Cela se pratiquait fréquemment et il y en a plusieurs exemples dans les archives.

L'existence de cette société expliquerait pourquoi tous les biens que laisse Dollard sont trouvés en la possession de M. de Belestre.

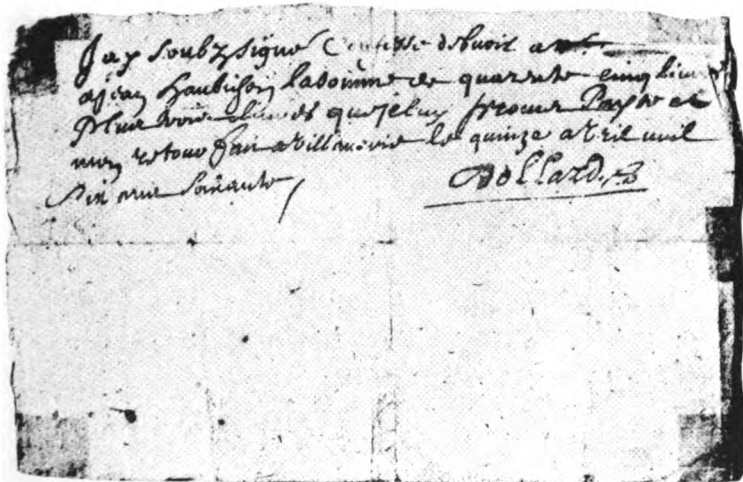
A la fin de l'inventaire, suivant la coutume, se trouve le chapitre des dettes dues par le défunt. Celles-ci ne s'élèvent qu'à 21 livres, mais tous les créanciers n'y figurent pas.

En plus de ceux qui y sont mentionnés, Dollard devait 48 livres à Jean Aubuchon en vertu du billet que nous reproduisons ici et qu'il rédigea trois ou quatre jours avant son départ; de

INTITULE :—

Promesse Dollard

1660 —15 Avril



TRANSCRIPTION :—

Jay soubzsigné confesse debvoir a jean haubichon, la somme de quarente cinq livres Plus trois livres que je luy promet payer A mon retour fait a Villemarie le quinze avril mil six cent soixante,

DOLLARD,

(avec paraphe).

TRANSLATION :—

I the undersigned acknowledge to be indebted to Jean Haubichon in the sum of forty livres plus three livres which I promise to pay to him on my return. Done at Villemarie the fifteenth of April sixteen hundred and sixty.

DOLLARD

(with paraphe)

plus, une somme de 30 livres au chirurgien Louis Chartier, car lorsque ce dernier se noie, à Montréal, le 20 juillet 1660, deux mois après le trépas de Dollard, Basset découvre dans les papiers de Chartier, un autre billet consenti par Dollard; enfin, dans l'inventaire de René Doussin (26 mai 1660) Basset déclare que Doussin lui devait la somme de 9 livres "pour reste d'une plus grande somme par luy respondue pour deffunt le sr Dollard." (1)

Aubuchon et Chartier avaient probablement jugé inutile de présenter leurs réclamations sachant bien qu'ils ne pouvaient être remboursés par la succession.

M. de Maisonneuve, dut écrire la pénible nouvelle en France et attendre des informations, car ce n'est qu'un an après l'inventaire, qu'il ordonne la vente des biens de Dollard.

Cette vente excita peu d'intérêt.

C'est le jeune tabellion du lieu, Bénigne Basset qui offre les articles aux acheteurs, le dimanche, 13 novembre 1661, "audevant de la porte du sieur Jean Gervaise."

L'acte qui devait en relater les péripéties était dressé d'avance, en sorte que le "commis au

(1) Avec les billets seuls le passif du défunt s'élevait à 99 livres. Enfin, le prix des travaux qu'il a fait exécuter sur sa concession ne figure pas ici.

greffe et tabellionage" n'avait qu'à remplir les blancs qu'il avait ménagé à la suite de la description de chaque article.

Cinq de ces articles ne tentèrent pas les enchérisseurs et, en tout, la vente rapporta 41 livres, 7 sols, soit \$8.27. Rappelons-nous, cependant qu'on achetait à cette époque pour une livre (20 sous) ce qu'on paye aujourd'hui cinq à dix fois plus.

* * *

Il n'entre pas dans le cadre de cette petite étude de traiter du combat du Long-Sault. On en trouve les détails les plus circonstanciés dans les *Relations des Jésuites*, dans la lettre du R. P. Chaumonot (reproduite par la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, puis par M. Benjamin Sulte dans les *Mémoires de la Société Royale*), dans l'*Histoire du Montréal* de l'abbé de Casson, et, enfin dans l'*Histoire de la Colonie française* de l'abbé Faillon. Ce dernier a fondu les écrits de ses prédécesseurs en un seul.

A ce sujet, citons M. Sulte: "C'est M. Faillon qui a le mieux décrit le siège du Long-Sault et c'est M. Parkman qui a le mieux traduit cette belle page... en se l'attribuant."

Cette phrase ironique et juste est la première d'une étude que M. Sulte a consacré au lieu où Dollard a combattu (1) et cette étude est à lire

(1) Pages d'Histoire, 273 et seq.

REGISTRE DE NOTRE-DAME

Lé. 5^{me} de Juin 18

Nous avons reçu nouvelles par un hutoon qui se porta
l'autre d'entre les mains des François qui en avaient peu
été loins au combat qui se porta fait & eussent auparavant
cette. Lesdits François qui estoient au nombre de huit
cent. Et dix sept François de cette habitation et quatre
Algonquins et environnante cinquante hutoons au pied du
Ponchaut qui estoient de nosdits François eussent esté
tuez et la place et quatre emmenez lesdits
lesquels du depuis nous avons appris par 4 autres hutoons
qui se sont amenez au lieu est ordinairement estus les
lesdits François en leur pays. Or les noms desdits François
morts estoient.

Adam Daulat communément paye de 24 ans

Jacques Brisson 24 ans

Jean Cauciniere dit de la Rocheville armurier 23 ans

Nicolas Ciblemonte et tuteur 24 ans.

Laurent Robert dit de la Riviere 27 ans.

Alme de la Riviere chauffeur 31 ans.

Nicolas Gosselin 24 ans.

J. Mondoy et Robert Jurec 24 ans. Nous avons appris qu'il estoient par les
Indiens en France. Jacques Boisseau 23 ans

Louis Martin 21 ans

Christophe Amie dit des Jardins 27 ans.

Estienne Robin dit des forêts 27 ans.

Jean Vabato 27 ans.

René Nouin 28 ans.

Jean Le compte 26 ans.

Lison Benet 24 ans.

Francis Buffon dit Pilote 24 ans.

Facsimilé de l'acte de décès de Dollard et de ses compagnons.

d'un bout à l'autre par ceux qui veulent être complètement renseignés.

N'allons pas oublier que l'abbé P. Rousseau, P.S.S. a repris le récit de son confrère l'abbé Faillon et qu'il l'a condensé avec bonheur dans son *Histoire de la vie de M. de Maisonneuve*.

LE VERITABLE NOM DU HEROS.

A en croire certains auteurs, le Sauveur de Villemarie aurait eu, à sa disposition, autant de vocables qu'un hidalgo espagnol. Pourtant, Adam Dollard, sieur des Ormeaux est bien la seule et correcte appellation par laquelle on doit le désigner. Daulat et Daulac sont des déformations qu'il faut bannir impitoyablement.

Jugez-en. Dans le greffe de Basset on trouve la signature de notre personnage aux dates suivantes: 15 sept., 17 sept., 8 oct., 12 oct., 23 oct., 8 nov., 13 nov., 15 déc., et 20 déc. 1658; 2 janv., 12 janv., 26 fév., 16 mars, 18 mars, 3 oct. et 15 nov. 1659, et partout il signe Dollard (1) ainsi que dans le billet qu'il remet à Jean Aubuchon.

(1) Sauf dans l'acte du 18 mars 1659 où il écrit Desormeaux Dollard, et dans l'acte du 15 nov. 1659 où on lit Dellard parce qu'ayant commencé à écrire Deso(rmeaux) il surcharge so de ll sans s'occuper du e précédent.

De plus, dans le même greffe, il est mentionné aux actes suivants : 10 septembre 1658, 7 avril 1659, 18 avril, 26 mai, 22 juillet, 6 nov., 9 nov. 1660 ; 12 mai et 13 nov. 1661, puis dans la concession de M. de Maisonneuve, du 2 mai 1661, et partout, encore, on lit Dollard.

Dans le seul acte de l'état civil où il apparaît personnellement (3 oct. 1658), il ne signe pas, non plus que les autres personnes qui participent à la cérémonie, mais l'officiant écrit *Dolard*.

On voit donc que dans toutes les *pièces publiques* connues à Montréal, le héros du Long-Sault, DE SON VIVANT, n'a jamais eu d'autre nom que Adam Dollard, sieur des Ormeaux.

Sa mort, pour glorieuse qu'elle ait été va changer cela. (1)

C'est dans son acte de décès que la première altération se produit. Là, le rédacteur écrit *Daulat*. Toutefois, si l'on y réfléchit, cette orthographe s'excuse parce qu'en prononçant mollement, il n'y a pour l'oreille qu'une imperceptible nuance entre Dollard et Daulat. Ceci admis, le mot *Daulac* devrait s'expliquer comme suit :

Au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles, dans la plupart des manuscrits, le *t* final ne saurait se différencier d'un *c*.

(1) Sauf pour les *Relations des Jésuites* de 1660, imprimées en 1661, qui contiennent : *Dolard*.

Par exemple, dans Basset, vous pouvez tout aussi bien lire Archambauc qu'Archambaut, Souarc que Souart, Branssac que Branssat, etc. Voilà toute la source de l'erreur.

Les deux premiers historiens qui passent pour avoir adopté *Daulac*, les abbés Dollier de Casson et de Belmont ont vraisemblablement écrit Daulat comme il y avait dans l'acte de décès qu'ils ont dû lire, mais lorsque leurs manuscrits furent transcrits, un siècle plus tard, par des copistes qui ignoraient tout du personnage qui nous occupe, la présence de *a* avant le *t* et la forme défectueuse de ce *t* portèrent naturellement les scribes à lire *ac*, syllable assez commune dans les noms propres français. (1)

Au surplus, les abbés de Casson et de Belmont, si les copistes ne leur ont pas joué de mauvais tours, ce dont nous sommes convaincu, auraient écrit certains noms d'une façon plus que bizarre, tels: Soeur Brussolle pour Brésolle, soeur Moillac pour Maillet (2), soeur Maer pour Macé (3),

(1) Mgr Tanguay s'est chargé de démontrer que cette erreur se commet aisément. Dans son dictionnaire, vol. III, p. 411, il mentionne J.-Bte N. Deverac parce qu'il n'a lu son nom que dans les registres, cependant cet individu signe bien lisiblement Deverat. Maximilien Bibaud est tombé de Charybde en Scylla. Dans la 1ère édit. de son Panthéon, on lit Adam Dollard, sieur Descormiers! Il est possible, toutefois, que ce soit une faute typographique.

(2) Autre exemple d'un *t* final pris pour un *c*; de plus le copiste a dû se méprendre sur la 2^e et la 6^e lettres de ce nom.

(3) La distraction du copiste est ici bien patente.

Lagachetière pour Lahochetière, Clos pour Closse, Dalleg pour Dallet, etc. (1)

C'est à compter de l'introduction de ces manuscrits au Canada (celui de M. de Belmont en 1837, et publié en 1840, puis celui de M. de Casson en 1845 et publié en 1868), que quelques-uns de nos historiens donnèrent carrière à Daulac.

Cependant, Garneau me paraît être le seul qui accepte cette orthographe sans objection, parce qu'il n'a pu se renseigner aux minutes du tabellionnage de Montréal. (2)

Lorsque le manuscrit de Dollier nous parvint, Jacques Viger se chargea de l'annoter et il crut devoir enregistrer une protestation discrète basée sur le seul fait qu'il avait vu, en 1847, l'inventaire des biens du héros où son nom était écrit Adam Dollard.

Evidemment, M. Viger ignorait que la signature de Dollard existait, puisque, quelques pages plus loin, il prend la peine de dire au sujet de

(1) L'abbé Dollier de Casson n'était pas un déchiffreur d'écriture, si l'on en juge par un passage de l'article de M. O. H. Lapalice, archiviste de la fabrique de Notre-Dame de Montréal, paru dans l'*Antiquarian* de 1911, p. 184.

(2) Il convient d'ajouter que dans la 4ème édition, M. Sulte, au mot Daulac de la table analytique renvoyait le lecteur à Dollard des Ormeaux, mais voici une bonne nouvelle: dans la 5e édition de cette histoire qui va paraître en France prochainement, par les soins de M. Hector Garneau, petit-fils de l'auteur, Daulac disparaîtra enfin pour faire place au nom exact.

certaines Montréalais: "Ecrivons Le Ber, Le Moyne et Migeon de Branssat, car c'est ainsi que ces dignes chrétiens signaient".

Toutefois, le manuscrit de M. de Casson et les annotations de M. Viger, bien qu'étant connus des historiens, ne furent imprimés qu'en 1868, soit dix ans après la mort de M. Viger.

L'abbé Ferland, dans son *Cours d'histoire* qui parut en 1861, conserva Daulac (I, 455) se réservant le privilège de lancer, dans une note, une nouvelle déformation: "Il est nommé Dolard dans les Relations, Daulard dans quelques actes publics (1); il semble que c'était là son véritable nom; puisqu'il le prend dans le testament qu'il fit avant son départ."

L'abbé Ferland est le seul auteur qui dise spécifiquement que Dollard fit un testament. N'a-t-il pas donné, à quelques textes, une portée plus grande qu'ils ne comportent? (2)

Quoiqu'il en soit, en admettant (sous réserve) ce document que personne n'a vu depuis, peut-on

(1) Les actes publics connus aujourd'hui, et nous croyons qu'il y en a plus qu'on en connaissait en 1860, contiennent tous Dollard ou Dolard, à l'exception de l'acte de décès. D'ailleurs, l'abbé Laverdière, contemporain de l'abbé Ferland, continuateur de son œuvre et historien tout aussi précis, tout aussi consciencieux et tout aussi érudit, n'a pas répété cette déformation; il écrit Dollard.

(2) Nous analyserons dans un autre article, ce qu'ont dit du testament de ces braves, les historiens de Casson, Faillon, Tanguay, Roussau et autres.

imaginer que Dollard, pour une fois, et sur une pièce d'une telle importance, eût signé autrement qu'il signait d'habitude?

N'importe l'alarme était donnée et c'est le distingué abbé Faillon qui devait porter la lumière.

Daulat ou Daulac ayant été créés par deux historiens sulpiciens, il était dans l'ordre que cette erreur fut réparée, tout d'abord, par un des membres de cette illustre congrégation.

Il le fit carrément et avec d'autant plus de mérite que lui-même avait déjà écrit plusieurs fois Daulac.

Relisons donc la note qu'il inséra dans son *Histoire de la Colonie* (1865), vol. II, p. 389 :

“M. Souart, dans le registre mortuaire de Villemarie, appelle cet officier Adam Daulat, et M. de Belmont, dans son *Histoire du Canada*, le nomme Daulac, après M. Dollier de Casson. Nous avons suivi nous-même cette orthographe dans la Vie de la Soeur Bourgeoys. Mais ayant eu occasion de consulter les actes de Basset, nous avons vu que ce notaire écrivait Dollard, ce que fait aussi l'auteur de la Relation de 1660. C'est là la véritable orthographe de ce nom, ainsi que le montre la propre signature de ce brave militaire, qui écrivait constamment Dollard, et quelque fois Des Ormeaux Dollard.”

Voulant concilier tout le monde, Parkman inventa une explication qui a cours dans certains milieux.

Daulac, selon ce grave historien, serait le nom exact du héros et Dollard, son nom populaire, c'est-à-dire une sorte de sobriquet. (1)

Rien de plus absurde que cette supposition qui ne s'appuie sur rien. Cependant, elle a été acceptée par Mlle Caruthers, elle est citée dans la magnifique édition américaine des Relations des Jésuites, etc.

Bref, il y aurait une brochure à faire sur ce sujet fertile, mais pourquoi s'attarder?

Quand on a quelque instruction, qu'on sait signer et très bien, nul n'a le droit d'écrire notre nom à sa fantaisie. C'est nous-même qui en fixons l'orthographe, parce que c'est notre bien personnel.

Il est donc à souhaiter que les écrivains, les sociétés historiques, les éditeurs éclairés et le comité du monument Dollard s'entendent pour épurer l'histoire des vocables étranges dont on

(1) Quelques-uns prétendent que Dollard serait d'origine irlandaise parce que son nom a été porté par le premier évêque de St-Jean, N.-B., lequel naquit en Irlande, en 1789. Il reste à savoir si cette évêque ne descendait pas d'une famille française émigrée en Irlande; le cas ne serait pas unique. Quoiqu'il en soit le nom existe en France sous diverses formes.

persiste à affubler le jeune commandant de la garnison de Villemarie.

Le mot "monument" qui vient de passer sous notre plume nous rappelle une phrase de Fail-lon :

"En tirant de l'oubli des noms glorieux... nous formons le voeu de voir élever un jour, dans la cité de Villemarie, un monument splendide qui rappelle d'âge en âge, avec les noms de ces braves, l'héroïque action du Long-Sault."

Le voeu de ce grand et savoureux historien va s'accomplir. Depuis deux ans, la jeunesse mont-réalaise s'est organisée dans ce but et notre ville assistera, avant longtemps, à l'inauguration du bronze que l'abbé Faillon désirait.

INVENTAIRE DES BIENS MEUBLES DE DEFFUNT ADAM DOLLARD

DU VI - 9 BRE.

1660.

Inventaire des biens meubles appartenant à deffunt Adam Dollard sieur desormeaux Vivant Commandant en la garnison du fort de Ville-marie, en lisle de Montréal Trouvé en la posses-sion de Pierre Picote sr de Belestre aussy com-

mandant en lad. Garnison fait par moy Commis Au greffe et tabellionnage dud lieu Soubsigné Ce 6ie. 9bre.1660.

Premieremt.-

Trouvé un Coffre de bois fermant a clef dans lequel Il sest Trouvé les choses qui suivent, Ice-
luy Brisé &c et estimé la some de quatre Livres
cy..... llll tt

Item Une espée a manchée prisee.....XX s

Item Un petit Justacorps avec Une petite Cu-
lotte fort Usé le tout de droguet prisé et estimé
la some de quarante Sols cy.....XL s

Item Un meschant Justacorps gris doublé
dune fort meschante Revesche de mesme Cou-
leur, Avec Un meschant hault de chausse de
mesme estosse prisé et estimé le tout Ensemble
La somme de trois livres cy.....lll tt

Item Une paire de bas Blancs tels quels prisé
et estimé la somme de Cinqte Sols cy.....L s

Item Un baudrier de Vache dangletere avec
boucles de fer prisé et estimé la some de Cin-
quante Sols Cy.....L s

Item Un Justacorps Avec Une Ringrave (1)
dont les bas blancs Le tout de drap de ceau (2)

(1) Ou Rhingrave: culotte large.

(2) Dans l'inventaire de Jeanne Mance, on voit "drap du sceau"
et "du ceaux".

le tout prisé et estimé ensemble la soe de dix
huit livres cy.....XVIII tt
(*En marge de l'item cidessus:*)

Ner. que les hardes de cet article
ont esté rendus Au Sr de brigeat
par ordre de monsieur le gouverneur
dauta quelles estaient aluy.

Item, Un fort meschant Calçon facon de cha-
mois prisé et estimé, la somme de Vingt Sols
cy.....xx S

Item, Un bonnet de Nuict, de laine blanche
double avec deux Coiffes prisé et estimé la
somme de trente Sols cy.....xxx S

Item Trois chemises Telles quelles prisées et
estimées ensemble La Some de Sept livres dix
Sols cy.....VII tt x S

Item Un petit paquet de Meschant Linge pri-
sé et estimé ensemble La some de trois livres
cy.....III tt

Item deux paquets de canons Rouges et
bleufs prisé et estimé ensemble la some de.....

Item. Une petite seringue destin Commun pri-
sé et estimé la some. de Vingt Sols cy.....XX S

Item. Une Trousse de mouton doublé de ve-
lours rouge telle quelle Avec pigne de buis rom-
pu un petit pigne façon descaille tortue Avec
Une petite brosse prisé et estimé ensemble la

somme de (les mots "*quarante sols cy*" ont été rayés et remplacés par) trente sols....XXX S.

Item, Un meschant chapeau Noir prisé et estimé la some. de Vingt sols cy.....XX s.

Item. Une meschante paire de Raquettes Sauvages prisé et estimées la somme de quatre livres cy.....IIII tt.

Item. Une Valize de Cuir telle quelle prisé et estimé La somme de Trois livres cy.....III tt.

Chapitre des tiltres et pappiers

Item, Une facture du sieur Mousnier parafé & coté.....A.

Item, Une missive du Sr. Jobart en datte du 12 8bre 1659. parafé et cotté.....B.

Item. Un petit mémoire, parafé et cotté...C.

Item. Un Recu de guillaume Cousture po. deux minots de bled parafé & cotté.....D.

Item. Un aquiet du sr. de St Jacques de la soe. de Vingt livres parafé & cottéE.

Item. Une societte faite entre Led deffunt et le sieur de bestre'. (1) en datte du XXIe 9bre 1659 parafé et Cotté.....f.

Item. Une petit memoire de quelques Journées fournies aud deffunt par Avenne du hauu. (?) dud lieu Cotté.....G.

(1) C'est sans doute le nom du sieur de Belestre que Basset a écrit ainsi. Basset avait la manie d'abrégé un peu tous les mots, souvent même pour n'omettre qu'une lettre.

Item. Un aut. Memoire des debtes dud deffunt
parafé et Cotté.....h

fait clos et arresté par moy Commis au greffe
et tabellionnage de Villemarie Soubsigné, Après
avoir chargé led sieur de belestre de toutes les
choses mentionnées au present Inventaire mes-
me des tiltres et pappiers Avec deffences de sen
dessaisir Jusqua ce Il en soit ordonné par Jus-
tice A peine de l'ordce., Ce qu'il a promis fa. et
les Représenter toute fois et quantes quil en sera
Requis et a signé. Ce Jour et an que dessus.

De Belestre

Basset

Nore

Chapire. des debtes deubs par led deffunt aux
cy apres desnommes suivant Leurs declaraons.

Le 14. 9bre. 1660

Déclaré par Jacques Beauchamp, po. Sept
Journées dhiver a 30 S par Jo. cy.....X tt X S
plus deux Journées et demye a 40 S.....V tt
plus po. son blanchissage pendant six mois....

VII tt X S

plus po. La façon de quatre chemises et aut. me-
nu Linge.....IIII tt
plus po. Vente dUn chapeau noir.....IIII tt

Declaré par le sr. Jullien de Rouvray

Luy estant deub, pour Une grande Corne
dans laquelle il y avait Une livre de
poudre

(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte.)

VENTE DES MEUBLES DE DEFFT. ADAM

DOLLARD DU 13'. 9BRE

1661.

Du Dimanche XIII. 9bre. 1661

Vente des biens meubles demeurez Après le
Decedz de deffunt Adam Dollard Sr. Desor-
meaux, Vivant officier en la garnison du fort
de Villemarie, faite par le Commandement de
monsieur Le gouverneur, faisant laqllle. Vente
en la presence

A esté par moy Comis. Au greffe et tabellion-
nage dud. lieu cy Apres Soubsigné, proceddé,
apres lavoir publiée, Dellivrez et Substrastez en
la manière Accoustumée, Au plus offrant et der-
nier enchérisseur, aux personnes et aux Som'es
des deniers qui ensuivent

Du Treiziesme Jour de Novembre mil six Cent
Soixante et Un, heure de Relevée, Au devant de

la porte de La maison du Sr. Jean Gervaise habitant aud lieu de Villemarie.

Premierement

Un Coffre de bois ferment à clef, dellivré A
A la somme de

Item. Un petit Juste a corps Avec une petite Culotte fort Usée, le tout de droguet, dellivré A toussaint hunault—

A la somme de quarante deux Sols....

XL IIS.

Item. Un tres meschant Juste A corps gris, doublé d'une fort meschante revesche de mesme couleur avec un tres meschant haut de chausse de mesme estoffe dellivré A Jacques Beauchamp A la somme de quatre livres six sols, cy.

IIII tt VI S

Item. Une paire de bas blancs tels quels, dellivrés A Nicolas hubert dit la Croix A la somme de quatre livres dix huit Sols cy. IIII tt VIII S

Item. Un Baudrier de Vache dangleterre avec boucles de fer, dellivré A Pierre Raguideau A la somme de quatre Livres cy.....IIII tt

Item. Un fort meschant Calson fasson de Chamois dellivré A Gilles Lozon chaudronnier A la somme de quatre livres cy.....IIII tt

Item. Un bonnet de nuit de laine blanche Avec deux Coiffes de toile dellivré Avec un mes-

chant chapeau noir Aud. Lozon A la somme de
Trois tt. seize sols cy.....III tt XVI S

Item. Trois chemises telles quelles dellivrées
Au Sr. Jean Gervaise A la somme de douze Li-
vres dix sols cy.....XII tt X S

Item. Un petit paquet de meschant linge, del-
livré A Jacques beauchamp A La somme de trois
livres Sept Sols cy.....III tt VII S.

Item. Deux paquets de Canons de Verre (?)
rouges et bleufs dellivré A

A la some. de

Item. Une petite seringue destin commun del-
livré A.

A la somme de.

Item. Une trousse de Mouton doublée de ve-
lours rouge telle quelle, un pigne de bouys rom-
pu, Un aut. petit pigne fasson descaille Tortue
Avec une petite brosse, dellivré a Laurens Ar-
chambault A La some. de Trente trois sols
cy.....XXXIII S.

Item. Un meschant chapeau noir dellivré A

A la somme de.

Item. Une Vazise (sic) de cuir telle quelle del-
livré A

A la somme de

Basset.

(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte.)

CONCESSION DE TRENTE ARPENS DE
TERRE A PIERRE PICOTE DE
BELESTRE. DU 2e MAI
1661.

PAUL DE CHOMEDY Gouverneur de LIIsle de Montreal en la Nouvelle france. Suivant Les Pouvoirs et commissions qui Nous ont esté donnez par Messieurs Les Associez pour la Conversion des Sauvages en la Nouvelle france en lad Isle et Seigneurie d Icelle, Nous Avons Donné et Concedé, Donnons et Concedons Au sieur Pierre Picoté de Belestre La quantité de Trente Arpens de terre Tirant Vers Sainte Marie. Scavoir dix Perches de large Proche la grande Rivière sur deux autres perches de Profondeur, tirant au Nord Ou'est quart dou'est, Tenant dUn costé A Jean Valliquet dit la Verdure d'Autre Costé A Paul Benoist dit le Nivernois, Plus dix perche de large Sur Cinquante de Profondeur Suivant le Mesme Run de Vent Joignant Icelle Abboutissant A la Concession dudit Valliquet, Plus dix aues'. Perches de large, Sur Cinquante de Profondeur suivant le mesme Run de Vent Joignant Lesd. deux Cents perches Aboutissant A la concession du dit Paul Benoist, faisant Ensemble

lad. quantité de Trente Arpens de terre. Pour en Jouir par led. sieur de Belestre, ses Successeurs et Ayant Cause, A perpétuité et en Toute propriété Aux charges, Clauses et Conditions qui Sensuivent. Scavoir quIl Sera obligé de desfri-cher Lesd. y faire Bastir Une Maison, et payer par chaque Arpent Touttes Les Années Trois deniers de Censives Ausd'. Seigneurs de Mont-real et Aues'. droicts Seigneuriaux quand le Cas Escherra Suivant la Coustume de Paris, et laisser les chemins que le gouverneur de Montreal Jugera necessaire po. la Commodité publique, Et Aussy a la Charge de Payer A la succession dud Deffunct sieur Dollard, la somme de Soix-ante et dix neuf livres dix Sols pour Cinquante Trois journées dhomme que led. deffunct sieur Dollard a Employées A faire Travailler sur lad Concession, fait Au fort de Villemarie, en lad Isle Le Deuxie'. Jour de May 16c. soixante et un.

Signé, Paul de Chomedey Sans parraphe.

Colla'onné A Son Original en pappier prêté par led sieur de Belestre et A LInstant Retiré, par moy Nore et tabellion en la terre et Seigneu-rie de LISle de Montreal sousigné.

Le Cinquies'. decembre 16c soixante et Six.

Basset

Nore &c.


(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte.)

BIOGRAPHY

OF

DOCTOR EDMOND ROBILLARD

NOTE:—Through the kindness of Madame St-Aubin (née Antonia Marie Clara Robillard) and Dr. E. G. F. Robillard, Marquis du Mazuel, the Gallery of the Society has been enriched by a fine oil portrait of their father, the late Dr. Edmond Robillard, from the brush of the artist, St-Charles. Accompanying the gift, and enhancing its value, is a beautifully illuminated biography, engrossed on vellum, from the studio of Messrs. Cox & Co., and splendidly bound in morocco, of which the following is a textual transcript.—EDITOR.

OCTOR Edmond Robillard was born in Montreal, on the 30th October, 1825, and received a classical education in the Colleges of Montreal and L'Assomption. Doctor Robillard studied medicine under Doctor Wolfred Nelson, from 1842 to 1846, at the same time attending lectures at the Canadian Medical School of Montreal, of which he was appointed demonstrator of anatomy while a student. Doctor Robillard commenced to practice in the Autumn of 1846, and the succeeding summer was appointed chief medical

attendant for the famous quarantine of Grosse Island while the fever on board ships was prevailing.

In the autumn of 1847, Dr. Robillard went to New York and continued his medical studies under the celebrated surgeon Dr. Robert Nelson.

In 1848, Dr. Robillard was appointed Chief Surgeon of the New York and Erie Railroad, then in course of construction. Not long afterwards he went to Paris, France, and continued there his medical studies; returning to New York in 1850 on the "Waterloo", to resume his duties as Chief Surgeon of the New York & Erie Railroad.

We learn from a biographical sketch by the Rev. J. Douglas Borthwick, that "Dr. Robillard acting as surgeon of the "Waterloo" established so strict a sanitary cordon while the cholera was raging at the time the ship left Liverpool, that not one of the passengers was taken sick during the crossing; and owing to his careful regard for their health received a complimentary address from the passengers on their arrival at New York."

In 1853, on account of sickness contracted during surgical operations in the United States, Dr. Robillard deemed it best to return to Canada.

In 1854, Dr. Robillard married Miss Adéline Loranger, the only sister of the Hon. Chief Justice Loranger. The same year he was appointed head surgeon of the Grand Trunk Railroad Contractors, holding that position during the eight years it took to build the Victoria Bridge. His skilful operations in surgery had honorable mention at that time in the reports of Mr. Hodges, the Chief Engineer of the Grand Trunk Railroad; and that railroad presented him a full set of surgical instruments.

His head-quarters during that time were at Pointe-Claire, and while there he held for a time the office of Mayor and later that of Warden of the County of Jacques-Cartier.

In 1859, Dr. Robillard was elected by the members of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, one of its Governors and Examiners. From 1868 to 1874, he was Registrar of the College.

On the 25th February, 1868, Dr. Robillard received a diploma from the Medical College of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, United States of America, under signatures of the President, Dr. W. Vaux, the Secretary, Dr. Gaimt, and Drs. E. Dilton, Ed. Bucknar and Doucet.

In 1873, Mrs. A. Loranger Robillard died in Montreal, leaving the Doctor two daughters, the Misses Alexina Robillard and Marie-Louise Robillard, who survived their mother only a very

few years. That same year, the Bishops College, Lennoxville, conferred upon him the honorary title of "AD EUNDEM," a well-merited honour. This diploma is signed by the President, Dr. Jas. D. O'neber, and by Drs. Edn. Hale, C. L. Chevalier and Att. David. In 1876, Dr. Robillard returned to Paris to study the new systems in surgery and to witness the wonderful operations of gastronomy.

While there he received a diploma from the Société de Clinique de Paris, of which he was elected a corresponding member, Wednesday, the 18th of April, 1877. The diploma is signed by the President Dr. Peter, the Vice-President, Dr. A. A. Dentu, the Treasurer, Dr. Z. Carrière, and the Secretary, the General Dieulafoy. On his return to Canada he wrote a paper on this new surgery and lectured before different medical bodies. Dr. Robillard was the Chief Inspector of lunatics for the Province of Quebec for years and one of the Assessors of Bishops College of Montreal.

Dr. Robillard was thoroughly wedded to his profession, and attended very closely to its duties. His experience as a surgeon has been large, and he excelled in the branch of the healing art, for the study of which he seemed to have a passion.

On the 8th of January, 1878, Dr. Robillard married Miss Antoinette Madeleine du Mazuel, the eldest daughter of His Ser. Highness Guillaume, the 34th Marquis du Mazuel.

In May, 1880, the Doctor's daughter, Mrs. Antonia Marie Clara Robillard St. Aubin, and in October, 1881, his son, Edmond Guy Ferdinand Robillard, the present Marquis du Mazuel, were born.

Dr. Robillard had the honourary degree of Master of Surgery conferred upon him by the Medical Faculty of Victoria College on the 19th of May, 1881, dated and signed at Cobourg, Canada, by Drs. S. S. Nellis, DD. LL. and Jean Wilson, M.A. LL.

On the 11th of September, 1882, Dr. Robillard was elected Treasurer of the Canadian Medical Association, and on the 10th of December, 1883, became its Vice-President, the President being Dr. George G. Fenwick, and the Secretary Dr. William Osler.

In 1884, Dr. Robillard left for Europe to remain there many years. The records of the Hospitals in Paris and London mention several wonderful operations he performed with the famous French Doctor Mr. Pean.

Dr. Robillard returned to Canada in 1900, where he spent the last ten years of his life at

his home on Sherbrooke Street in Montreal. For the last three years Dr. Robillard was unable to walk due to paralysis of the lower limbs.

Dr. Robillard died at half past five o'clock in the afternoon of January 13th, 1911. He was sitting in his arm chair, his reading-book in his hands, he bowed his head down a little, the book slipped to his knees, the hands that had healed so many were cold forever.

Dr. Robillard died the Dean of the Doctors and Surgeons of Canada and the United States.

E. G. du MAZUEL.

LES CARDES.

PAR O. M. H. LAPALICE.

NOTE:—En jetant un coup d'oeil dans la salle du Château Ramezay, qui représente l'intérieur d'une ancienne maison canadienne, on s'aperçoit que près de la moitié de l'ameublement était utilisé à l'industrie de la filature.

Les directeurs de cette institution, en réalisant ce département du musée, nous mettent sous les yeux près de trois siècles de l'histoire des Canadiens, dans leur vie intime. Chaque maison d'habitant, et même chaque maison de seigneur, possédait le rouet et le métier, le dévidoir et le tourniquet; et chaque famille fabriquait la toile, le droguet, et l'étoffe du pays. Dès le milieu du 17^{ème} siècle, au rapport de Talon, "on produisait en Canada de quoi se vêtir des pieds à la tête."

Mais il manquait encore les cardes à la collection des instruments, nécessaires à la confection de l'étoffe du pays; et malgré ses modestes dimensions à côté du grand métier, elles étaient aussi indispensables.

M. O. Lapalice, après quelques recherches, a réussi à en trouver une paire de ces cartes, chez un sien frère, héritier du mobilier grand paternel, lesquelles il a présentées avec les remarques suivantes:—LES EDITEURS.



“ L'ENCONTRE du champ du paresseux couvert de ronces, l'usure de ces cartes, et les reliquats y adhérents, déposés par le labeur, annoncent qu'une main laborieuse en fit un fréquent et noble usage.

“Qu'on me permette à ce sujet de rapporter une page d'histoire. Elle est pour moi d'un intérêt un peu personnel, mais elle a son importance.

“Dans un voyage à Assiniboia, en 1837, Sir George Simpson, alors gouverneur du Nord-Ouest et de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, ayant fait remarquer à Mgr. Provencher la belle étoffe dont les Canadiens étaient vêtus, celui-ci répondit que cette industrie manquait dans la colonie, mais qu'il faudrait bientôt l'y introduire. Là-dessus, Sir George Simpson offrit à l'évêque de Juliopolis de faire venir à ses frais deux tisserandes Canadiennes et de payer leur rémunération pendant trois ans, s'il voulait consentir à les loger et à les nourrir durant cet espace de temps. Mgr. Provencher s'empressa d'accepter cette proposition, et deux tisserandes se rendirent l'année suivante à la Rivière-

“Rouge, dans le but de faire connaître leur métier aux femmes qui désiraient l'apprendre.” (1)

“Ces deux femmes furent Dame Marguerite Chainé, veuve de Laurent Lapalice, ma grand-mère paternelle, née en 1789 à la Rivière du Loup, aujourd'hui Louiseville, et Demoiselle Ursule Grenier, née à Yamachiche en 1806.

“Cette dernière demeura à la Rivière-Rouge, d'abord à l'évêché de St-Boniface, puis elle épousa un nommé Valiquet. Elle se fixa à Ste-Anne des Chesnes, où elle mourut. Ma grand-mère revint au pays, et Mgr. Provencher lui décerna, avant son départ, la lettre suivante, dont je conserve l'original :

“Dame veuve Lapalice du district des Trois rivières et partant pour retourner en Canada par la rivière Lapierre, a été employée, par la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, pendant trois ans, comme tisserande, pour montrer aux filles de la Rivière rouge à faire de l'étoffe, et ce dont elle s'est acquitté à la satisfaction des gens du pays, en foi de quoi j'ai signé le présent à la Rivière rouge, ce 18 juin 1842.

* J. N. Ev. de Juliopolis.”

“Elle mourut chez mon père en 1874, âgée de 85 ans. Je me rappelle, que pendant mon en-

(1) “Les Canadiens de l'Ouest”, par Jos. Tassé, tome II, p. 378.

fance, elle racontait souvent les péripéties de son voyage. Quelques-unes de ses élèves, toutes métisses ou sauvagesses, étaient souvent réfractaires au maniement des cardes et du rouet, mais toutes étaient très habiles dans le mélange le plus bizarre des couleurs les plus disparates.

“L’industrie de la laine, chez nos habitants, est un peu tombée en désuétude, à cause de la proximité des filatures américaines; et les Juifs commerçants de hardes faites, semblent lui donner, à brève échéance, son dernier coup de grâce.

“Mais notre institution, qui écrit l’histoire du pays comme en images et en tableaux vivants, conservera avec soin ces humbles et menus objets, comme des souvenirs du travail industriel de nos ancêtres; et surtout de l’industrie de la laine, qui fut pendant longtemps un titre de gloire dont ils furent toujours fiers de s’enorgueillir, et qu’admirèrent toujours les étrangers qui eurent l’occasion de visiter notre pays.”

THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

3rd Series. Vol. IX. JULY-OCTOBER, 1912

Nos. 3 & 4

CANADIAN LETTERS

*Description of a Tour thro' the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada,
in the course of the years 1792 and '93*

FOREWORD



THE MANUSCRIPTS bearing the foregoing title and sub-title are evidently *drafts* of a series of letters penned by some English traveller, whose name has not yet been ascertained, to an unnamed correspondent, some time after his return. The many erasures and emendations evince the care taken to give the Letters the polished form they finally assumed, in which shape, as here given, they, no doubt, reached the hands of the recipient for whom they were intended.

The writer is evidently a man of education, position and distinction, in close touch with high

official circles—civil and military. His style is admirable and his technique finished; his powers of observation and description of a high order; his reflections and comments on men, manners and movements capable and pointed.

Concerning the *Letters*, Mr. Thomas O'Leary, Assistant Librarian of the Château de Ramezay, their owner, writes:

"The manuscript of 'Canadian Letters' appearing in this number of the Canadian Antiquarian was presented to me by my brother, the late James M. O'Leary, of the P. M. G's Dept., Ottawa, some eighteen years ago. For many years he had in his possession a bound volume of manuscript letters descriptive of a tour through Canada in 1792-93, which he valued very highly, and it was only after great persuasion on my part that he transcribed them for me. How, or where he obtained them I never learned, but possessing a strong yearning for antiquarian research, he devoted all his leisure moments to useful delving into the musty records of the past, and so may have come across these Letters. At the time of his death, ten years ago, the original came into my possession."

Desiring some authoritative confirmation of editorial judgment, and relying upon the high literary standing and well-known courtesy of Dr. A. G. Doughty, Deputy Minister and Dominion Archivist, he was written to as follows:

"There has come into our hands a bundle of old MSS. which we should like to use in the *Antiquarian*, but we recoil at the possibility of serving up a 'twice-laid' dish for the fresh viands we and our constituents delight in. We think it 'a find,' and while none of us can connect the story with any of the 'Travels'

known to us, the fear of unwittingly putting out a 'twice-told tale' impels us to trouble you for an opinion as to its originality, or whether your wide knowledge can identify it with anything already extant."

That this confidence was well-founded, and the pains taken to sift the matter very considerable, the following excerpt from Dr. Doughty's reply, printed with his permission, clearly shows:

"I have had an examination made of all the manuscripts we have in the Archives relating to the Simcoe period, but I can find no trace of documents such as you mention. I thought perhaps that some clue might be obtained from the *Journal* of Mrs. Simcoe who makes frequent notice of visitors to Government House in 1793, but there is nothing that throws light on the question. I think therefore you would be quite safe in publishing the manuscript."

The Letters, printed *verbatim* from Mr. J. M. O'Leary's admirable transcription, are their own best interpreters. They are submitted with disclaimer of responsibility for any of the impressions, views and opinions therein expressed, as a new page in the Nation's story, without bias or offense:—THE EDITOR.

LONDON, March 5th, 1795.

Dear Sir,

You say that you would not trouble me for an account of Canada, if there were any modern publications on the subject, and that it is only from the dearth of information, that you are induced to trespass on my time. Believe me that no man is so welcome as yourself to whatever portion of it, I shall appropriate to you for this purpose.

How far I shall be successful in the attempt to amuse or instruct you is uncertain. Of one point however you may be persuaded, that I shall not voluntarily mislead your judgment.

You, who are acquainted with my temper and disposition, will naturally suppose that a projected voyage to Canada would be to me a source of much satisfaction,—here the troops of Britain had entered with success,—here Wolfe had perished in the arms of victory, and here the influence of a Johnson, devoted to the cause of his country, had impressed on the savage mind a bias hostile to the enemies of England. To some men the scene of such transactions would be uninteresting, not so with your friend, to traverse the plains of Abraham would be, I felt, to move on *modern classic ground*.

I have ever admired the sentiment of Johnson in his Hebrides,—far from me, and from my friends be that apathy, which can proceed indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been distinguished by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. When this happens, I have ever thought that such minds want tone.

The natural beauties of Canada, we have all been accustomed to admire from report. From early youth, we have been in the habit of giving it credit for extensive tracts of wood and water, diversified in prospect and fashion, as though nature, everywhere else serious, had reserved this country to unbend herself in frolic, one while binding its waters in a continuity of frost, and another, precipitating whole seas from a cataract.

I sailed from Liverpool, on the 9th of August 1792 for Quebec, and after experiencing some perils of water, we made the land of Cape Breton. This island forms the southern entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which is bounded to the north by part of Newfoundland. The intervening distance is about 60 miles. Navigators

usually keep to the southern, as the coast of Newfoundland has many dangerous rocks, and shoals.

About the middle of the Gulf, we sailed by the island of Anticosti. This land is uninhabited, unless at particular seasons, when hunters come on account of the skins of animals, with which it abounds. It extends about 30 miles in length. Its breadth is inconsiderable. In most places it is distant from the land either to the north, or south about 35 miles. I was much struck with the idea that this island would be a proper place for a settlement of convicts. The distance from home would equally preclude escape, as by transmitting them to Botany Bay. I communicated with some gentlemen at Quebec, on this point, who were of the same opinion. After the period of their exile was elapsed, those of them who had families might accelerate the population of Canada, by receiving small grants of land, and thus strengthen our colonial establishment. The industry of these persons, confined to a small tract, would soon exhibit a scene of high cultivation that would exonerate their country from the expense of supporting them.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is peculiarly dangerous, hence the necessity of taking a pilot on board, at a distance of 50 leagues from Quebec, at the Isle of Bic. To survey a chart of this river, one would suppose that danger could rarely be escaped from the number of sunken rocks, that are laid down in it. Fortunately for us, our pilot was a man of ability, to whose skill we were, I believe, indebted for our safety. Shortly after we had taken him on board, it commenced a dreadful storm, accompanied with a thick fog, in consequence of which we could not see above a quarter of a mile from any part of the vessel. This last circumstance is, of all others, most to be apprehended, as it deprives the pilot of the opportunity of ascertaining the course of the ship by land marks, and reduces him to the necessity of relying merely on the lead. You may suppose that I had some occasion for alarm, when the Captain twice informed me, that he considered us as being in a most desperate situation, the vessel at the time going with the wind, and current, 14 miles an hour. The storm however abated, and we landed in safety on Sunday the 14th of October.

The St. Lawrence, as you approach the town, has an interesting appearance, from the number of houses and villages which adorn its banks. They are white on the outside, which aids the effect.

The appearance of Quebec, to a stranger, is far from pleasing. It is divided into an upper and lower town, the latter of which, in wet weather, is one uniform scene of mud. The houses in both are, in general, built of stone. On the whole, Quebec appears to be, which, in fact it is, a French establishment, where cleanliness is seldom attended to. The dress of the women, the wooden shoes and their cookery, all tend to aid the delusion, and induce you, occasionally, to suppose yourself in a town of old France.

The lower town of Quebec could make but little resistance against an enemy, who was superior by sea, but the upper one, from the natural strength of its situation is capable of a considerable defence on the western side. There are new works constructed on the land quarter, which appear sufficient to repel any ordinary force that could be brought against them, particularly when it is considered that an enemy could derive but little support from artillery, which it would be impossible for them to draw up the heights, which surround the town, in the face of a well appointed garrison.

The 7th, or British Fuzileers, commanded by Prince Edward, together with a body of artillery, performed garrison duty, whilst I was at Quebec. The appearance of the 7th, is highly military in point of figure. The mutiny, which some time after took place among them, has been attributed to various causes. The most probable is to be traced to the manner in which the majority of the corps was originally composed. His Royal Highness, with the natural ardour of a youthful soldier, was desirous that his Regiment should be distinguished for its figure, and, in consequence applied, when at Gibraltar, to some general officers, to accommodate him with men who would answer that purpose. They, it is said, took occasion at the same time to get quit of a number of troublesome fellows. Such persons being brought together in one body, and at the same time distant from home, formed the desperate resolution of deserting, and going to the States of America. Their plan was however defeated in the very moment previous to its execution. His Highnesses subsequent conduct, to the ringleaders of the delinquents, was such as to impress the minds of the people of Canada, with the most favorable opinion of the clemency of his temper.

The appearance of Quebec, from the river, is far from favorable, but from the town, the view of the St. Lawrence and Isle d'Orleans,

and the adjacent country, with the distant prospect of the falls of Montmorency is one of the noblest (that) can be conceived.

The Isle d'Orléans is peculiarly noted for its fertility, and forms a kind of mole to the harbour.

The falls of Montmorency is probably the highest in the world, but the grandeur of its effect is diminished, from the scantiness of the waters which descend.

I was particularly solicitous to see the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe, by defeating the French, annexed Canada to the British Empire. The scene of action is distant about two miles from the town. When we consider that the troops had to gain this eminence, which is almost perpendicular from the side of the river, and then form on its verge, we know not whether most to admire, the bravery which executed, or the head which planned such a scheme, the completion of which would, to ordinary minds, appear impracticable. It was a singular coincidence in the engagement of that day, that the first and second in command on both sides were wounded in the course of the action, the Commanders in Chief mortally.

When we reflect how much reputation and character depend on circumstances, we have reason to think that the fate of Wolfe cannot be deemed altogether unfortunate. The cavils of envy were disarmed by death—victory embalming his memory rendered it odouriferous, and life was closed with a sentiment. (1) How different the fate of Montgomery who, with extraordinary talents for war, turned his sword against his country, sought fame in treason, and perished rashly. Thus far we must give expression to merited reproach. The report of private life, speaks him to have been a man generous and brave, endowed with many virtues. When such men deviate, the liberal mind is prone to extenuate offense, and transfer imputation from the erring individual to human nature.

Montgomery met his fate at a place called the Potash, in the environs of the lower town of Quebec, in an expedition undertaken by him and Arnold jointly, against this place. The approach was by a narrow pass, the river on one hand, with an eminence composed of stone quarry on the other. In this pass, not more than two men could move abreast. To oppose the Americans, the British had placed two

(1) I have always thought that General Wolfe had in contemplation, in his last moments, the conduct of Epaminondas, the Theban, when mortally wounded in battle.

small field pieces, in a house, commanding the passage. Thus enfiladed, the enemy were mowed down by cannister shot as they advanced. This fire was too galling to be long sustained, when Montgomery, finding his men going back, rushed forward to the van, to animate them by example, and instantly fell. I saw the spot, and traced out the ground where they deposited his remains. I sought for stone, or other memorial to tell the passing stranger 'here lies Montgomery.' Governors, and Commanders in Canada, this is not well. Pique should have been buried with him, and sentiment suggested that a lifeless hero is every soldier's brother. (1)

It appears rather paradoxical that furs should be dearer in Canada, than in England, but the fact is, that I could purchase an article in this line, cheaper by one half in London than at Quebec. The cause is that they do not dress any skins in that country. They are sent over in the raw state to England, and from thence return to America, with the expense of two freights, and two merchants' profits annexed to their original value. On leaving England I had meditated something handsome, by transmitting presents of furs to some female friends. I thought that being in the very land of skins, this might be done at a trivial expense. The very first enquiry that I made on the subject convinced me that all these generous resolutions must be relinquished.

The temper of the French Canadian is peculiarly cheerful. He laughs, sings, and dances, with almost as much *gaiété du coeur*, as the European Frenchman was wont to do.

Winter is universally through Canada, the season of festivity. Cut off from communication with the rest of the world, the good people there find resources within themselves to mitigate the severity of the climate. About the close of October, all the ships have departed for Europe. Business is then at an end, and pleasure becomes the general object. The common amusement of the morning is what they call carrioling or driving a chaise, with one horse over

(1) I have lately heard a cause assigned for this neglect of Montgomery, that during the siege he sent a letter to Lord Dorchester then Sir Guy Carleton, threatening, in language unbecoming a gentleman, to make him personally responsible for the security of the stores.

It is usually supposed that the cause of General Montgomery's joining the Americans, was his marriage with a lady of the Livingston family at New York.

It was remarked of him that in some conferences with British Officers, in the course of the war, he never looked them steadily in the face, — he felt not the sustaining pride of patriot honour.

the ice or snow. This carriage has no wheels, but glides along on iron bound shafts. Carrioling differs from what is called sleighing in Upper Canada in this that in the former one horse is used, in the latter two. The velocity with which these carriages move is surprising, and the exercise which they afford is, I am convinced highly conducive to health. The rapidity of the motion excites a glowing satisfaction of the most grateful nature. The gallantry of the young men is displayed in the fancy of the cariole, and the excellence of the horse and his trappings, who is further distinguished by bells. Thus appointed a Canadian cavalier dashes through the snows, and solicits some fair dame to participate in the pleasure of the day. Races are run, and emulative happiness is everywhere visible. Balls, concerts and moderate plays occupy their evenings. Their entertainments are furnished with a profusion of whatever constitutes good cheer, and contributes to the pleasures of the table. This is the unvarying round, and thus passes the Canadian winter, till the arrival of the first ship from Europe awakes them to the active pursuit of business.

Nothing can be considered more exhilarating and bracing than the air when the frost first sets in. Before its severity becomes intense, it seems to confer elasticity both on mind and body, and to render the animal machine capable of the greatest possible exertion. In the country parts, the snow frequently lies from six to ten feet in depth, nor would it be possible to trace a road, but for the strictness of the laws relative to the conduct of the overseers.

Lord Dorchester, the Governor of these Provinces, was absent in England, when I arrived. This nobleman was, I found, very popular, particularly among the native Canadians. From the length of time he has been among them, and the good offices he has rendered them, he is regarded with filial affection. Lady Dorchester is a sister of the late Lord Effingham. Through her influence, there is, I was informed, much observance of etiquette and ceremony. Many of the inhabitants thought that this representative of her Royal Highness would not have been a less exact resemblance, if she had occasionally permitted a few traits of condescension to appear in her deportment.

General Clarke, the Lieutenant Governor, performed the duties of office, in the absence of Lord Dorchester. This gentleman is of a prepossessing manly figure, and generally spoken of with approbation. He was formerly Governor of Jamaica. He had some difficulty at

first in conciliating the minds of the Canadian Legislature, to the wishes of Government, but was finally successful.

Canada, by the capitulation of Quebec, was secured in the enjoyment of its religion and laws, but since that period, that part of it which is now distinguished by the name of Upper Canada, lying to the Southward of Montreal, became inhabited by a description of persons, who were averse from that religion, and those laws, and attached to the religion and laws of England. These persons were principally half pay officers, and soldiers, who had obtained grants of lands. To meet the wishes of these people, and at the same time to preserve the good faith of the Capitulation, our Government determined to divide the province. It was impossible to draw a line of discrimination, so as exactly to place every one agreeable to their ideas of religion, and law. In general however, and with but few exceptions, the object has been attained.

Lower Canada comprehends the towns of Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal, which are the principal ones.

Upper Canada, commencing a little distance from Montreal, comprehends the town of Cataraqui, or Fort Frontenac, or Kingston, (as it has been called by the Indians, the French, and the English as they respectively possessed the country), of Niagara, Detroit and (word missing in manuscript).

The former province is governed by the laws of France, and Popery is the established religion.

The latter by the laws of England, both in Church and State. I would not be understood to say that all the laws of England are introduced into this province, but such as are suited to its circumstances. Many of our laws would be to them totally useless and inapplicable, and the source of much confusion. To have proffered them such a gift would have been like placing the armour of a giant in the custody of a dwarf.

Most of the settlers in Upper Canada, consist of disbanded officers and soldiers, and their families, together with those of American loyalists. To have adhered tenaciously to the constitution of Quebec, and to have governed all Canada agreeable to its regulations, would have been folly in the extreme. England therefore wisely drew a line, which infringing no subsisting interest, designated how far the ancient laws of France should have force, reserving the remainder for

the introduction of her own. The necessity for this measure becomes more evident, when we consider that the extent of our Empire in that quarter is unknown, and that we cannot in idea, set any other geographical bound to it than the longitudinal distance of Nootka Sound on the Pacific Ocean. Neither policy or philosophy would permit the idea of fostering rising settlements, and an extensive population, in laws, usages, and a religion, adverse to our own.

The question is not now, whether England could retain, subject to her Empire, so extensive a tract, if populated, but there is a middle state of civilization, in which it may be rendered highly useful, and the introduction of our laws, usages and language, will, at all times form a bond of union, that will secure us a preference in commercial intercourse.

One step of a highly enlightened policy has been adopted by England with respect to Lower Canada. Though England could not abridge her franchises, she was authorized to enlarge them, which she did by granting them Legislative Assemblies, the lower one composed of representatives of the people. The time probably is not far distant, when, (prejudice subsiding), those bodies will call on England to establish those laws, and that constitution in their country, against which their ancestors protested.

The legal code which has hitherto determined most of the controverted cases in Canada is that which is denominated the *Coutume de Paris*. This system of laws is vague, diffuse, and intricate. Hence frequent appeals to England. Our judges, or the members of the Council, unacquainted with the laws of France, were then obliged to apply to the French Courts of justice to know what the law was on these particular points, nor was it always that satisfactory, or according opinions could be obtained from them. This mode of obtaining justice was so circuitous, (for it cannot be practised at present), and attended with so much vexation, and expense, that it has long been an object with reflecting men to fall on some plan, which, coinciding with the prejudices of the natives, might simplify the means of obtaining justice.

Attached as you are, with reason to the excellent institution, a trial by jury, you will scarcely believe, which is however literally a fact, that though the inhabitants of Lower Canada can, in certain cases, recur to a jury, yet is the privilege seldom resorted to. How is it that such infatuation can prevail? The decision of twelve men

usually tempers law with equity. The decision of one or two judges is the language of a general statute on a particular case, to which it is not always strictly applicable.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, March 14, 1795.

Dear Sir,

It may be made a question whether nations, like individuals, have not their "Ruling Passion." If so, I shall not hesitate to pronounce the ruling passion of Canada to be a passion for dancing, but English and Canadian dancing are two distinct things. In England, we dance for amusement, but in Canada 'tis a very serious business. In England, balls are given principally for the purpose of bringing young people together, but in Canada they are often perverted to the purpose of rendering old ones ridiculous. I had the following anecdote from an English lady of respectability.

During her stay at Quebec, she had received many attentions, and in consequence gave a ball in return. For this, the younger branches of the families of her friends were invited, the conveniences of the place not affording accommodation for the whole. Some time after, the matron of one of these families changed her usual mode of deportment so much as to excite apprehension, that she had taken offence at some circumstance. Inquiry was made through the medium of a friend, when out came the unparalleled grievance, namely, that the English lady had given an invitation to her two daughters, without asking herself, and that in a case of that kind, if any preference was given, she thought it was due to herself. The custom of England, which had occasioned the lady's mistake was explained to her, and harmony at length restored.

There is, however, in defence of this attachment of veterans to the service of dancing, some excuse to be offered. The natives appear to consider it rather in the light of an exercise, conducive to health, than as a sportive amusement. Probably also the severity of the climate renders some such diversion useful as contributing to relax the too great rigidity, which the fibres of the animal system might otherwise acquire.

The conduct of the Quebec matron brought to recollection Lady M. W. Montague's account of the usages of the Court of Vienna in her time, when a female, under forty, was considered as too much of a chit to obtain notice, and when the *haut ton* consisted in that mellowness, and maturity of beauty, which half a century alone could confer. What an elysium for ancient ladies, but as the fashion of the Imperial Court may probably have changed since her ladyship's days, it may be some consolation for those ladies whose charms are on the wane, that there is still such a place as Quebec, where old age may still languish in a cotillion, or excite admiration in the country dance, by a display of agility so extraordinary at its years.

Wood is constantly used for fuel at Quebec. It is cut into small pieces so as to fit the stoves which are in general use in this country. This mode of warming a room is not usually acceptable to strangers from England, though habit reconciles to it. Coal fires are, however, I think preferable. There is something particularly exhilarating in viewing the blaze of a good fire so as to entitle it to rank among the superior comforts of life. In our mode of warming rooms, two senses are gratified, in the Canadian but one. There is this inconvenience also in the use of stoves, that the proportion of a good room loses of its effect, from the introduction of a funnel.

The people of Quebec are hospitable for strangers, though I have heard of some who have more than repayed them by the propagation of slanderous tales. I have known more than one instance in which domestic peace was successfully invaded by '*the arrow that flies in the dark.*' Against this, our sex have some protection. A high spirited man will not suffer his character to be *whispered away*. He will demand an instant explanation, but when the level is made at female fame, the sufferer droops without the means of resistance. In such a case it were almost a virtue to wish for an hour's possession of arbitrary power to inflict summary justice on offenders. The vice of scandal is, I believe to be found every where, but more particularly in confined situations. The inhabitants of such places are better acquainted with each other. The preference which is given to eminent merit is more impressedly felt by the environs, and the impossibility of finding circles of society extensively various, in which inferiority might stand a chance to raise its head, is the inducement to circulate suggestion's falsehood. The level which we cannot rise to may be established by the depression of others. The sentiments which I have

here expressed, flow from sympathy with merit, which I knew to be maligned.

Let me present you with a more graceful portrait. There is, I am informed in the neighborhood of Quebec, a gentleman emphatically distinguished by the name of the *Bon homme*. His frank hospitality I have heard much extolled. The passing stranger is invited to his board, and almost made to forget that he is such. Party, country, or connection form neither barrier or inclosure to his intimacy. He is universally diffused in acts of kindness. The name of this American *Man of Boss* must not be concealed. Whilst the endearing virtue of humanity is held in reverence, Quebec may boast of a Frazer.

The town is but indifferently furnished with hotels, or coffee houses. On landing I was recommended to one in the Upper town kept by a Jew. The accommodations were both dear and inconvenient. All the others are in the Lower Town. After residing two days here, I went into a boarding house, which was considered the best in Quebec, and accommodated in the most satisfactory manner at the moderate expense of a guinea a week. This house is kept by Madame Marijeau, a Canadian gentlewoman, and her daughters. It is situated in the *Rue Couillard*, in the Upper Town.

The markets of Quebec are cheap and abundantly furnished. I never was in any place where there seemed to be so great a quantity of good things at moderate rates. A turkey might be purchased for 15d sterling, and other articles of provision in proportion. Game is brought in, in large quantities. The mutton is very small. I have seen a maid servant returning from market carry a whole one in a basket on her arm.

French is much spoken in this town, but by no means with purity, to instance, in the words *lait* and *beaucoup*, they sound the *t* in the former, and *p* in the latter.

The parade is in the Upper Town near the Château. It is inconvenient on account of the irregularities of the ground. The Prince was regular in attendance.

The chapel of the French Recollets was used alternately by them, and the English, for the purpose of Divine worship. The service of our Church was usually performed by a Swiss minister. The military composed a majority of the Congregation.

Prince Edward has acquired much popularity in Canada by his affability. I was much impressed with the condescending attentions

which I one day saw him pay on the parade to an aged French priest. What was yet better, it appeared to be a natural emotion.

The public carriages here, cannot be paralleled for inconvenience. They are small, wretched chairs into which two persons may, with difficulty, squeeze themselves. That kind of a cart, called a buggy, which is in use among the farmers in some English counties, compared with one of these, might be considered as a triumphal car. If laughing were a specific for any disorder, it could not fail of being excited by attending to the harmony which results from the cracking of the whip, the chiding of the driver, and the jingling of the horse's bells, all blended in one grand unison.

The environs of Quebec are infested with prostitutes of the lowest order, who solicit the attention of passengers at noon-day. It will be evident that vice has made considerable progress, among the lower ranks in this place, when I assure you that I have been informed that these solicitations take place in the houses, and with the approbation of the parents of these unfortunate women. What step can human nature have to descend lower than this?

There are two vessels, the "Indian Trader," and the "Eweretta," which sail regularly between this port and London. They were constructed for the exportation of furs, and built exactly the same model. Their accommodation for passengers surpass anything I had an idea of. In good weather, you might cross the Atlantic in one of them, as much at your ease as if in a fashionable drawing-room in London. The price of a passage from England to Quebec is 30 guineas, returning, the demand is reduced to 25.

I here first saw some of the Indians. In one, unaccustomed to them, their appearance excites a sensation of horror, but this quickly dissipates. In Europe, we have many prejudices on their (sic) subject. I had been taught to believe that they were men of extraordinary strength. The fact is directly the reverse. A muscular European would manage three of them. It is an erroneous philosophy which inculcates that men are strong in proportion to the hardships they undergo. Hunger, cold, and watching will waste any human frame, and they have made such an impression on that of the savage. The man whose support depends on success in the chase, will often have occasion to practise abstinence, and when successful, it may be questioned, whether the surfeit, which the craving of nature occasions, will not equally tend to impair his constitution. The strength

of the savage is rather passive, than active. He can *bear* much rather than *exert* himself vigorously. This race of men are gradually wasting away. Circumscribed in their hunting grounds, the means of support fail them. Above all, the intemperate use of strong liquors contributes to enervate and destroy them. The savage returning from an expedition, benumbed with cold, and enfeebled with fatigue, would barter the world, (were it his), for a gallon of rum, nor give over drinking this fascinating liquor till his senses were overborne by the force of intoxication. It is needless to point out how unerringly fatal such a course of life must prove to those who pursue it. Were a cultivated European subjected to the same necessities, he would very soon have recourse to the same mode of blunting the sense of them. I have frequently thought hardly of the liberality of those, who, in possession of ease and affluence, inveigh against the intemperance of the poor, for occasionally deriving temporary comfort from the use of spirituous liquors. The man, who dines off two courses, sees the wines of half a dozen countries sparkle on his board, treads on Turkey carpets, may feel his spirits exhilarated by liquors, which are not ardent, though the porter and other labourers, whose occupations expose them to the blast of winter, would, in vain, endeavor to excite a temporary warmth by any other than spirituous liquors.

Raynall, the French historian has fallen into an error in describing the Indians as a race of men who had no beards. They, I believe, wish as much as possible, to eradicate hairs from all parts of the body except the chin, where probably, the effort would be ineffectual. Their beards are, in general, much lighter, and less thickly set than those of a civilized people, which, I suppose, proceeds from their animal humors, being more attenuated than ours.

The perceptions of the savage are acute. The lowest sound arrests his attention, and he traces the impression of footsteps through the forest, which are invisible to the eye of an European. They are peculiarly expert in the use of the bow, and the tomahawk. That intrepidity, which would expose itself to imminent danger, is, by no means, in repute among savages. To have deceived the enemy by stratagem, to have surprised him by superior vigilance, these are the boasts of an Indian warrior, and constitute the martial virtues, which are extolled. An Indian leader never voluntarily attacks without the consciousness of a decided superiority.

Conduct is generally moulded into a vice, or a virtue, according

as it suits the policy of the particular society, which pronounces on it. The old men of the Savage tribes feel that their numbers diminish insensibly, that many of the savage youth perish in early infancy from the severities attached to the situation of the female parent, and therefore wisely prefer the stratagem which saves, to that temerity, which, if oft repeated, would terminate in the extirpation of their nation.

In one point, the savage is eminently deficient,—he knows not gratitude. I here would be understood as speaking relative to the intercourse between him, and civilized man. It probably would be difficult to investigate how far it influences his conduct towards his fellows. In requital of those little offices which a savage can perform in a Canadian farm, though he were rewarded four fold, it would fail to make impression. If the next moment he were required to bring in a log of wood, or a pail of water, he looks for a fresh recompense. His avidity is insatiable. Probably there may not be wanting, modern Rousseaus who may consider gratitude as the weakness of a mind enervated by education, and its absence as a virtue, and then triumphantly point, in support of their doctrine to the conduct of the American Indian, to the “forked animal,” pure unadulterated man as nature’s prototype. Reasoning which sends us to seek for the perfection of human nature in the forest must be erroneous. Nature, cultivated by education towards perfection, may dictate to destroy another in self defence, but nature, thus cultivated, shrinks from grasping the scalping knife. It recoils from the meal of the savage who feasts on the flesh of his species. Such cannot be the dictate of nature, or nature’s lord. Shall not gratitude then be deemed a virtue in defiance of the sophistry of misanthropes,—that it is agreeable to our nature is evident from the kindly sensation, which accompanies its emotion. Gratitude is certainly a tax on our self love, partially on our independence. He whose good offices contribute more or less to the promotion of our interests, and the consequent greater independence of our will, has certainly a right, occasionally, to bias that will, and suspend that independence in favour of his own views. The cheerfully entering into the advancement of those views is gratitude. How exquisitely attuned for social happiness must his feelings have been, who pronounced that no prospect could be so grateful, as that of looking in the eyes of one whom we have obliged.

Believe me to be, Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, March 22, 1795.

Dear Sir,

On leaving Quebec for Montreal, I determined to go by water. This mode of conveyance is usually preferred, as being in general less expensive than posting, and on account of the picturesque scenes which the banks of the river present. Nature appears here simple though not uniform, and attracts admiration, by a display of spontaneous beauties.

Many vessels pass, to and fro, with freight and passengers, whilst the river is open. The price of a passage is very inconsiderable, being only two dollars. The passengers usually subscribe a small sum previously for the purchase of accommodations—one is chosen to act as provider, and the money deposited in his hands. This can easily be effected as it is generally known some time previous to sailing, who are to be of the party.

We set sail with every appearance of making a quick passage, but the wind coming ahead, when we were abreast of *Trois-Rivières*, we were obliged to come to an anchor.

Trois-Rivières lies about half way between Quebec and Montreal. It runs out in a straggling manner to some extent. There is nothing here of that bustle, animation, and industry which is visible in other towns. The inhabitants appear indolent and listless.

The gaol of this town is a handsome building, and worth attention. A party of us went to examine it. Persons were confined here charged with various offences. The rooms in which they were imprisoned were far from inconvenient, and their treatment on the whole appeared to be liberal.

Cruel indeed is that policy which treats a suspected man, and a convicted one in the same manner. I am persuaded that many innocent men have suffered unjustly from the severe usage they have received on being committed. Unaccustomed to the rigors of confinement, they have sunk in despair, and neglected the attainment of that evidence which was necessary for their acquittal. Probably no system of jurisprudence will ever do adequate justice in this respect. A man is committed for an offence, lies three months in prison, is tried and acquitted. What recompense is he to receive for the confinement he has sustained? I am apprehensive that this is an imperfection in the nature of things for which no remedy can be discovered, but that it is a grievance is unquestionable.

A French lady in Paris some years back was the first who caused me to think attentively on this subject. "Sir," said she to me one day "you appear to be enthusiastically attached to the laws and Constitution of England. Now I," said she, "have been looking over the memoirs of a person of your country, in which the case of a poor man is mentioned, who, in order to oppress him, was imprisoned on an affected suspicion of being guilty of a felony, by a country magistrate." I interrupted her to say that she would find that ample justice took place, when the cause came before a jury. She assented that the man had been acquitted on trial, but desired to know what redress he was to obtain for the imprisonment, previous to the trial. "In many cases," she continued, "nothing more than imprisonment is inflicted by your laws for very serious offences." "How then," said she, "do your boasted laws discriminate, (so as to hold out the pretext of doing justice), between imprisonment, considered as a matter of course, and imprisonment as a punishment for guilt, so as to induce the person who has been confined, and acquitted to feel the justice of the distinction." As I seldom continue an argument after I feel conviction, I was silent.

It was the remark of an ingenious writer, that no system of laws had ever yet been framed which brought a rich man, and a poor one, on equal terms into a court of justice:—So this imprisonment of an innocent man, previous to trial, seems to be one of those cases where laws, equal to all in general theory prove unequal in individual experience. The poor man alone suffers this previous imprisonment, and this from inability to find bail. His poverty deprives him of credit, though his acquittal proves him worthy of it. He who could discover a remedy for this defect in jurisprudence, without enabling an offender to elude punishment, might arrogate to himself no inconsiderable rank, among those who have been acknowledged as the greatest legislators of Nations.

In the number of persons confined in the gaol of *Trois-Rivières*, we discovered a Scotchman of the lower rank. He was of more than ordinary stature, and of bold, manly proportion. His figure was altogether interesting. Had we seen him in a prison in England, he would have only shared our sympathy in common with his fellow sufferers, but here, being the single native of Europe in this predicament, he appropriated it all to himself. The situation of a stranger in any circumstance carries with it the idea of somewhat forlorn, but

when poverty and imprisonment are annexed, it becomes peculiarly desolate. It has been observed by a writer of great sensibility, that whenever any figure presented itself before him, which, by its deportment, seemed to say, "behold, I am thy servant," it always disarmed him of that authority with which he was invested. So the appeal of "behold, I am a stranger," will be heard wherever even a lurking spark of generosity can be addressed. The language of its plea is simple. It says, "I am distant from home, relations, or friends. My sojourn in the land, lo! it is short. Let me not be oppressed."

We gathered round the Scotchman, and required his story. His tale was short, and unvarnished. He had been committed for an assault. Our Caledonian would have rebutted the charge, but was not believed. Guilty or not guilty was not with us the question. "In prison, and ye visited me." It was sufficient that he was there. The little tide of contribution flowed in from all parts, and we departed in peace. That man may have much of system in his benevolence, who could go trotting round a town to discover whether another was really guilty of a peccadillo, before he tendered him assistance, but believe me, my friend, he wants humanity.

We were much struck with the conduct of the woman who showed us the gaol. On tendering her a small *douceur* for her trouble, she declined accepting it, nor could we finally prevail but on condition, that she should receive it as a deposit to be expended for the benefit of the Scotchman, "for," said she, "he has none to help him," but he has though, for I'll be sworn thou hast done him an hundred good offices before now. This condition was freely acceded to on our part. I think it may be considered as great an act of injustice to deprive a person of the grateful consciousness of doing good, as of any other part of their property. Never in the course of my life have I said to any one, "do not give," or "you give too much," or, "he is an imposter." Heaven knows the current of charity runs low enough without endeavouring to check its course. Let the motive be pure, and the action will be *registered*. The best of us, on the great day of retribution, will not, I believe, fare the worse for a few set offs of this kind. You, my friend, I well know, would feel highly indignant to see, as I have, the assiduous parasite of a man of wealth arresting the half extended hand of benevolence, by some sneering remark, and afterwards extolling the profusion of his table as an *elegant expense*.

They offer you for sale at this town, a variety of articles made of

bark, in the form of pocket books, scissor cases, little boots, etc. These are curious in their construction, but so high a price was set on them as appeared to me to approach to imposition.

After the delay of a few hours, we returned to the vessel, which lay abreast of the town.

On the following day, there being no appearance of the wind shifting in our favour, and as the frost was expected to set in, I determined to post to Montreal. A young gentleman, who was going to join his regiment in Upper Canada, offering to accompany me, diminished the expense.

Posting is cheap here compared with Europe, and when the difference of convenience is considered, it ought to be so. The carriage is neither more nor less than a wretched cart, drawn by one horse. The expense was, I think, at the rate of a shilling a league, but in addition to this, there were two or three posts Royal, which, those who have travelled in France, know, are always charged double. This certainly is a heavy exaction, which it would be difficult to justify. The only way in which I could ever reconcile this usage to common sense was by supposing that horses were kept at a greater expense in large towns, than in the country, and that, in the country, they might occasionally be employed in other labour, when the demand for them was slack.

The regulations of the road require the driver to convey his passengers six miles within the hour, otherwise he is subject to censure. If it is the winter season, passengers are usually furnished at the Post House with large skins to secure their legs, and bodies from the inclemency of the weather. Thus equipped, they may bid defiance to the pelting of the storm. The roads are but indifferent. It is necessary to pass over a number of little bridges, constructed of the trunks of small trees placed parallel in a transverse direction.

The peasantry appeared to be cheerful and happy with a singular vivacity of spirits. As the road runs, in general, near the river, travellers have occasional views of it, in the course of the journey.

We arrived at Montreal on the 1st of November.

This town is situated on an island, at the foot of a high mountain, on the border of the St. Lawrence. It is not equal in size to Quebec, but has considerably the advantage in point of cleanliness. On the whole, Montreal has more the appearance of a middle sized country town in England than any place I saw in America. The prin-

cipal streets are flagged. The houses are built of stone, on the French plan, with this exception that they are in general, much lower, and present a greater appearance of neatness than French houses usually do.

Montreal appears to me to have taken its name from the mountain in its neighborhood, as the country is, in general, level for a considerable extent.

We stopped but one day at this place, as the last brigade of bateaux for the season proceeded, the day after we arrived for Cataraqui. Had we neglected this opportunity, we must have wintered at Montreal, but, as in the August following, on my return, I resided a fortnight in this place, I shall bring forward, at present, for the sake of method, the information I collected at the different periods.

Montreal, considered as a place of strength, could make little, or no resistance. Its fortifications are entirely out of repair. There is a fort on a small eminence, as you enter the town from Quebec, but, I believe, that few military men would hazard their reputation by undertaking to defend it. This place was taken by General Montgomery in the last war. Our Government probably are the more indifferent as to its state of defence, from the consciousness that those must always be the final possessors of Montreal, who are masters of Quebec, and have the command of the St. Lawrence.

The first battalion of the 60th, or Royal American regiment of Foot was quartered in Montreal during my stay. It would be ungrateful in me not to mention the very high sense I entertain of the hospitality of that corps and the peculiar attention I received from individuals. This regiment always remains in America, or the West India islands. It consists of four battalions. Previous to the war many gentlemen who were ambitious of rapid promotion used to purchase in it, as vacancies more frequently occur than in others. It is the largest regiment in our service. In the evenings of summer, their band generally plays for a couple of hours on the parade, which is the great public walk. The barracks, which are in the Notre Dame street, appear to be roomy and convenient.

The amusements of Montreal are exactly similar to those of Quebec. In winter, all is dance and festivity. Spring however makes its appearance at the former, a month earlier than at the latter, from its more southern situation.

There are in Montreal but two houses of general reception for genteel strangers,—Dillon's hotel, and Sullivan's Coffee house. The former is in the square near the Notre Dame street, and the other is adjacent to the market place. The latter house is most frequented, as being the longest established, and the general resort of people in business, but the former has a decided advantage in situation and superior accommodation.

The markets of Montreal are furnished abundantly, but provisions in general are not to be purchased on such reasonable terms as at Quebec.

Strangers, who intend making a delay in the town, would do well to get themselves accommodated with board and lodging as early as possible. In this, they will find their account, in the article of expense as well of society. There are more establishments of this nature at Montreal than at Quebec. Mrs. Warren's in the St. Joseph street is the best house of this kind, and generally frequented by persons from England. Madame Maran's in Notre Dame street is also conveniently situated. The prices in general are from four to six dollars a week.

I have seen few places where a veteran officer of moderate income might entrench himself for life better than at Montreal. He could live well on moderate terms, and feel himself of consequence.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, March 29, 1795.

Dear Sir,

The question has often been mooted by politicians, whether the provinces of Canada were an useful acquisition for Britain or not? Just reason would, I believe, induce to pronounce in the negative, did not the advantages arising from the possession of their Fur market turn the scale to the side of the affirmative. This it is which renders Canada valuable. Distant as its towns and population are from the sea, and yielding only corn, with which its neighbors are superabundantly furnished, it would be deficient in the means of obtaining the manufactures of the parent-country did not this expensive commodity enable it to make returns for the conveniences and comforts transmitted from England.

The American furs are by no means equal to those of the north of Europe, either in size or quality, their down yielding to those of Russia in silkiness of texture. These defects are however compensated by their cheapness. The great market for our American furs is China. This country had previously been supplied by Russia, but by no means in adequate quantities, and consequently at a rate which caused them to be regarded as one of those superior luxuries which could only be obtained by those who were in possession of ample fortunes.

In this state of things our low priced American furs, being exported, were purchased with avidity, and as the extensive population of China could only be supplied, after a series of years, the demand for this article was kept up for a long time in its original spirit. At length, it begins to languish, not so much from any caprice, or change of fashion, as the nature of the merchandize. When a general supply had once taken place, an annual addition comparatively small would suffice to keep it up, and not being of a perishable nature, ordinary care would render a suit of furs, a kind of hereditary possession in a family. The inhabitants of Canada however continue to receive considerable returns by means of this article, though from the unexpected abatement in the demand, many of the Montreal merchants have latterly lost by their speculations. Formerly, when the French first possessed this country, an annual fair was held at this town, for the sale of furs, whither the Indians resorted from all parts. At present the Fur trade is principally carried on by what is nominated the North-West Company. I do not believe that this body possesses any exclusive privilege but what it has assumed, though it does not hesitate to consider and designate as interlopers, those who, unconnected with them, attempt to participate in the trade. Indeed any enterprize of this nature is attended with considerable danger, as the clerks and servants of the Company are stationed in so connected a line of strong settlements in the Indian country, and are at the same time so jealous of their employers' interest, that few single traders are to be found sufficiently hardy to venture themselves among a set of men, who would not confine their resentment to empty menace.

With respect to the commercial intercourse between the savage and the civilized man, it is, I believe, unnecessary for me to remark that every transfer from whichever side it takes place, is most to

the advantage of the latter. The former buys dear, and sells cheap. This is the result of his situation. Competition is not permitted. His wants can only be supplied from one quarter. The craving necessity of his nature will not permit him to dispute the price of his gratification.

How vague, how capricious is the morality of commerce. It devotes the negro to slavery, because he is black. It presents the American savage with a bottle of rum, adulterated with water, in exchange for a skin, two guineas in value, because he is copper coloured, and for this, its agent is the white man who negotiates the whole without once blushing.

The members of the North-West Company are, in general, men of opulent fortunes. They are almost exclusively admitted from the body of their own clerks and servants, whose labors are thus recompensed, and their industry stimulated. The general interest of the Company too is thus best secured, as it will be impossible for confidential dependants to elude the vigilance of interested experience or refuse to practise that severe economy of which their superiors have already set the example.

It was under the patronage of this society that an attempt was made, about five years since, to traverse the American continent, and ascertain its breadth in this part. It was suggested to the adventurer to endeavour to make the Pacific ocean about the latitude of Nootka Sound. Mr. McKenzie, a native of Scotland, a gentleman connected with the Company, was the spirited individual who undertook this enterprise. He had proceeded a considerable distance, with every prospect of success, when the Indian, who had been prevailed on by considerable promises of reward to accompany him, and on whose skill in archery he relied for support refused to advance any further, being apprehensive of injury from the strange tribes of Indians they had fallen in with. Nothing could change his resolution, and Mr. McKenzie was compelled to return at a period when success appeared certain, having followed the course of a river for some time, which there was every reason to expect would discharge its waters in the ocean, near the destined latitude. McKenzie returned, but the ardor of genius is not easily repressed. He resumed his enterprise. After having adopted all those precautions which human prudence could suggest to facilitate his plan, then trusting much to what in great undertakings much must be entrusted, namely, chance, he boldly pene-

trated the gloom of a forest which human footsteps had hitherto found infinite. At the time I was at this place, he was absent on the second expedition.

Such are the men on whom history, anecdote, and memoir love to dwell. How inferior the little race of conquerors, to men like Columbus and McKenzie. Whilst the former, with the loss of thousands of human beings, scramble for the possession of a hill, or a plain, the latter, at individual risk, discover the scheme of creation, and present the discovery for the benefit of man. View McKenzie, facing the desert, famine, cold, and the caprice of every savage who crossed his path, and if Fortitude deserve the laurel conjure up Caesars and Alexanders to support the claim.

The history of Canada, previous to the conquest of it by Wolfe, presents little interesting. It consists in a series of expeditions undertaken by unsuccessful adventurers,—in accounts of private interests superseding all sense of public advantage,—of the mistaken zeal of missionaries rendering them useless victims in the cause of religion, and the equally mistaken policy of the first commanders, who took part in the disputes of the natives, to the injury of the colony.

The following is a brief statement of different expeditions down to the building of Quebec, which is brought forward rather for the purpose of pointing out the foundation of the settlement, than as conveying either pleasure or instruction.

The name of the province, Canada, is thus derived. There is a tradition that the crew of a Castilian ship, landing in the bay of Chaleurs, in quest of mines, and finding nothing of that kind exclaimed *sequi nada*, "here is nothing," which being overheard by the Indians they repeated it in an imperfect manner, so as to pronounce the sound Canada, and adopted this as the name of their country.

In 1497, Sebastian Cabot discovered the continent of America. He sailed hither by virtue of a commission from Henry the 7th of England, but no settlement was made then.

Father Charlevoix says that John Denys, a native of Honfleur in Normandy, drew a chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1506.

Thomas Aubert, a shipmaster of Dieppe, brought over to France some Indians of Canada, in 1508.

The French Court did not bestow any attention on Canada, till the year 1523, when Francis the 1st equipped four vessels under the command of Verazani, a Florentine. The particulars of this voyage

are not known. This man commanded in two other expeditions, without any intelligence resulting. It is supposed that he perished in the last.

In the year 1600, Monsieur Chauvin, sailed to Canada, accompanied by Pontgrivé, a merchant of St. Malo. In a second expedition he was accompanied by Samuel de Champlain, a gentleman of St. Onge, who had been a captain in the navy.

In 1608, Champlain began the settlement of Quebec, which is distant 120 leagues from the sea. The name is derived from a word in the Indian language, which signifies a straitening, the river here narrowing on a sudden.

Montreal was an ancient Indian establishment, under the name of Hochelaga.

Subsequent to the founding of Quebec there was a pious rage in France to emigrate to Canada. The harvest was represented as abundant and the labourers but few. Missionaries of both sexes entered on this new crusade, most of whom met with the fate of their predecessors in Palestine. I know not whether you would be grateful to me for recounting to you the honors which were paid the holy sisters on landing, or the pains they took to merit them, by a cheerful submission to the duties which are connected with attendance on hospitals, in fact they acted as physicians, both of soul and body. On the whole this Colony was neglected or regarded in proportion as the dissensions in France permitted, or the temper of those in power, induced them to cultivate the arts of peace.

At the commencement of the present century, during the period of the regency, the *éclat* of the Mississippi scheme once more turned the eyes of men with speculative attention on Canada, but it was only to withdraw them with distaste, as not affording those advantages which the romance of fancy could alone have suggested.

I shall now return to modern Canada.

There is at Montreal, as at Paris, a *Hôtel Dieu*, for the general reception of indigent sick. I have always thought that the French establishments of this kind are on a better footing than ours. In England, it frequently takes so much time to make interest to get a person into an hospital, that the soul of the patient fairly takes its flight in the interim. I was much pleased with the appearance of an affected piety and simplicity in the good ladies who were in attendance at this hospital, and was peculiarly struck with the neatness of

everything in their apartments, which regarded as an agreeable presage that the same was attended to in a quarter, where it is so indispensably requisite. I allude to the sick wards. I am firmly persuaded that a pure air, and attention to cleanliness disarm any malady of half of its virulence. Whatever I saw on this occasion would have sustained the scrutinizing eye of even the philanthropic Howard.

Whether the good deeds of the original missionaries have been visited on their successors, I will not pretend to say, but certain it is that the Clergy of Lower Canada are at present in a situation of ease and abundance that might be envied by all the other members of the Gallican Church as the Angel of Affliction has certainly passed over them. As it is usual with these religious bodies to offer up prayers, on stated days, for their benefactors, I would suggest the propriety, on occasions of this kind, of inserting on the list, all those who had any hand in drawing up "the capitulation of Quebec."

The Bodies of Regular Clergy in this Province are, in general, most amply endowed. Some of them are intrinsically opulent. Tho' there doubtless are many persons who think that a less affluent provision would suffice, yet it is generally agreed that their morals and conduct are without stain, and without reproach.

The French Canadian is probably the most bigoted of human beings. This however cannot be deemed the best time for paring off the excrescences of superstition, when the very body of religion seems in danger of dissolution. For my own part, I have ever thought that even superstition itself was an error on the best side. Some men there are who are never satisfied, but when they are either what they call, *rising superior to prejudice* in matters of religion, or instructing those around them so to do. These never deem themselves clear of the fence of superstition till they have dashed intrepidly into the horrid void of Atheism. Whenever such men or their doctrines are found useful to human society, I shall then grow indignant against the weakness of superstition.

The seigneurs or noblesse of this country are, in general, indigent. Probably this may have been brought on by an attempt to vie in appearances with the active sons of commerce. This must ever be the event of any contest between industry, whose resources are hourly increasing, and indolence, whose means are stationary. In these modern times, since the value of commerce has been properly understood, there seems to be a kind of happy necessity imposed on most

men of being in some respect useful. Few indeed are they whose fortunes are so very affluent as to condemn them to languish in inactivity. Men may commence life on terms of equality, but those who are listless and indifferent will soon feel the necessity of falling off from the side of those who were the companions of their youth, and have been stimulated by industry. In England, the pride of ancient wealth and nobility scarce restrains from participating of the sweets of commerce. Would it not then almost cheat the face of melancholy herself into a smile before she was aware, to see the colonial noble of a little province standing indignantly aloof from any exertion of talent, as derogatory to his consequence, though he is at the moment laboring under, what may be emphatically pronounced, the aggregate of human misery, *Domi inopia, foras os alienum*, poverty within doors and creditors without. Could these gentlemen be only persuaded how very unimportant their pretensions are in the great scale of things, they might possibly be induced to barter a little consequence for much comfort,—they would permit themselves to be useful and to be happy.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, April 7, 1795.

Dear Sir,

It is usual for those who wish to proceed to the Upper Province from Montreal to apply to Mr. Clarke, a Government Agent, who will furnish them with an order to the leader of the batteaux to receive them on board. Those who are in the service of Government have an extra order to be furnished with certain rations of provisions. When I mention that these rations are composed of cakes of very coarse bread, and pieces of pork, impregnated with brine, it will not be necessary for me to point out to persons of condition to furnish themselves suitably, previous to embarking.

The batteaux are stationed at a village called Lachine, distant about nine miles from Montreal. This distance may be considered as the first check which the European commerce with the Upper Province meets with. English goods, after being landed at Montreal, must be conveyed in carts to Lachine,—then unloaded, and reembarked in batteaux. The water runs so shallow from this village to Montreal, as

not to be navigable, even by these vessels. Batteaux are flat bottomed boats in the form of canoes, peculiarly calculated for this navigation as drawing not more than three or four feet of water. Five men are specially allotted to work each batteaux,—four row, sitting on the benches, the fifth acts the part of a steersman, occasionally shifting a short broad paddle, from side to side, which he uses as a helm to direct her motion.

In passing from Lachine to Cataragui, it is necessary to row the whole way, as they proceed against the current. Their progress is consequently slow, not being more, on an average, than 18 miles a day, so that in going to Upper Canada it takes ten days to perform a navigation, which, on the return, by aid of the current, may be accomplished in two. There are two or three portages, or carrying places in the course of this passage, when the goods must be unloaded, carted, and reloaded.

The batteaux generally proceed in, what they term, brigades, each consisting of about ten or twelve in number. At evening, they generally put ashore at some straggling house on the bank of the river, or pass the night in the wood. All this was new to me, and, as such not unpleasing. You would be surprized at the quickness, and dexterity with which the batteaux men cover in themselves, and the passengers for the night. On landing, all hands are employed. One strikes a light. Another collects withered leaves to receive it, whilst different parties bring in their collections of any wood, and instantly you have a blaze in every direction, with various groups encircling them. Poles are then suspended transversely from tree to tree, and over these are placed the bark of trees, coarse rugs, oil cloths, and other coverings to keep out the weather. Some dry wood is thrown under, and over this your blankets and mattresses are deposited. This is the employment of a part. The remainder are busied about supper. The rations are produced, and soon dressed at such extensive fires. Refreshment is then sought in sleep, and long ere the dawn, the active are in motion. As it was winter, the fires were kept up.

When I awakened the first night, and viewed the scene around, it brought to my recollection, Homer's description of the Trojans encamped before their walls, collected in companies around their fires, their faces whitening at the blaze and anxiously expecting the approach of morn.

The village of Lachine, from where the batteaux set out, is said

to have received its name from a peculiar circumstance. A foreigner of distinction, many years back, arrived at Montreal, where he gave out that it was his intention to traverse the continent of America in that direction, so as finally to arrive at China.

The road, at present, from Montreal to Lachine is remarkably bad, but at that time it was much worse, so much so that our adventurous traveller in proceeding on his route, met so many difficulties in these nine miles, that he fairly relinquished his pursuit, and returned to Montreal. The satirical French Canadian, in memory of this event gave the name *La Chine* or *China* to the place where the boasting foreigner had terminated his tour.

There is an Indian village in the neighborhood of this place. They have a Church, and have made some progress towards civilized life.

When the batteaux proceed in brigades, they are under the direction of a person, who is termed the conductor.

I left Lachine on the 3rd of November, 1792, to go up the rapids with the last brigade of the season, from which time, until spring, all communication is cut off on account of the severity of the season. The only intercourse that takes place in the interim is through the medium of a single express in winter, conveyed by Indians through the woods, about the month of February.

Finding in the course of the first day, that my limbs were benumbed with cold, and that it was altogether an uncomfortable mode of proceeding, I determined on attempting to get forward by land. It was in vain that different persons endeavored to dissuade me by pointing out the difficulties which would occur in a journey through the woods. I considered that this mode of traveling would give me a greater insight into the nature of the country and that the odds were in my favor, on the whole that I should by this means meet with greater conveniences. The event justified my expectations. There was a man in one of the batteaux, going up the country in search of employment, who, hearing of my intentions of going by land, offered to accompany me, and carry a few articles, if I would bear his expenses. To this proposal, I cheerfully acceded, and felt my hopes of success in my expedition augmented. It appeared to me in the light of one of those "pleasing surprises which often happen to active diligence, where many things difficult to design, prove easy of perform-

ance." So, borrowing a fowling piece from one of the passengers, I quitted the batteaux the next morning at the Cascade.

The Cascade is distant about ten leagues from Montreal. The waters run in a very strong rapid for some distance, previous to their arrival at the place that is peculiarly called the Cascade. Here they narrow and precipitate themselves over shoals, rocks, and stones in such a manner as, (owing to the conjoint form of the impediments) to descend in the figure of an inclined plane. A pilot is very often taken on for this very difficult navigation at the village of Johnston. It requires considerable skill to keep the exact channel, in passing which, the batteau of necessity goes within five or six inches of a cavern formed by rocks, down which a part of the waters are discharged. Should any accident bring a batteau in contact with this, no human power could avert destruction, from the passengers. So much have the waters been agitated in arriving at this part, and by collision with the stones, broken into their minutest particles, that the batteau appears to float merely on their foam, without being immersed in the body of the water. It may not be an improper caution to persons who think proper to descend the Cascade to beware least any sudden apprehension should induce them to start up in the batteau, as the consequence would inevitably be fatal to all those who were embarked. In general, however, strangers get out before they arrive here, and reembark at some distance below. In passing to Upper Canada, merchandise is unloaded here, and the empty batteaux drawn up a small by-canal.

On leaving the Cascade, we walked on about seven miles, when we arrived at Johnstown. This is a decent village for this country, and where tolerable accommodation may be obtained. Its principal claim however to remark is, that it is the last to be found in this direction till you arrive at Cataragui.

After passing Johnstown, the traveller must commit himself to the chance of meeting a public house, hospitality and such accommodation as he can obtain, in the straggling cottage of the peasant.

Two branches of the river must be passed in canoes.

The day after I left Johnstown, I heard by accident that there was a house which had belonged to the celebrated Sir William Johnson, some distance from the road. I had always admired the eccentricity of Sir William's character, who certainly was not a man of modern mould, and could not determine to lose an opportunity of examining

his rural arrangements. I therefore struck out of my course some two or three miles to the River Raisin. On my arrival, I was informed that Captain Byrne, a gentleman in the neighborhood would, as it was not doubted, gratify me with a sight of the house. I waited on this gentleman, who told me that I had been deceived by those who informed me that the house had been Sir William Johnson's, as it was a modern erection of his son, the present Sir John Johnson, who was then absent. Captain Byrne, with much politeness, insisted on sending his son to shew it to me. It is a small country lodge, neat, but as the grounds are only beginning to be cleared, there was nothing of interest. On our return, the Captain pressed me with so much frank hospitality not to proceed till the following day that it was impossible to decline. It was early in the evening. It is with pleasure I recollect the attentions I received, which I shall not quickly forget. Some gentlemen of the neighborhood came in, and time passed imperceptibly in conversation, that was supported with spirit and intelligence.

Captain Byrne bore his commission in a corps raised by Sir John Johnson, in the American war. Every opinion, which I afterwards heard of him, confirmed the favorable one with which I had been originally impressed.

It was thought by many persons in this country that Sir John Johnson would have been created Governor of the Upper Province, at the time the present one was appointed. His own, and his father's services, his hereditary ascendancy over the Indians, and his connections in the country were reason, which it was supposed, would have caused him to have been selected. Possibly the latter of them, namely, his connections in the country were the single impediment. It has been the general policy of English ministers not to appoint a man to the Government of that country where his connections are settled. Of this gentleman, who was then absent in England, I know nothing more than what general report spoke, and that report was favorable.

There was in circulation numerous anecdotes of the late Sir William. You will probably not deem the following unworthy of attention.

The ascendancy of Sir William over the Indians was kept up by frequent intercourse. At an entertainment given by him to the chiefs, the principal one, in the course of it, informed him that he had had a dream. The other desired him to relate it. He said he dreamed

that Sir William had made him a present of the fire arms, which were arranged in the room, in which they sat. The baron was rather disconcerted by this dream, as he well knew that it would cause a rupture with the chief, whose influence was considerable, if he did not take the earliest opportunity of fulfilling his dream. On the other hand, fire arms were the kind of presents he could least spare, and that which could be much used to his prejudice. A prompt decision was, however, requisite, and he immediately ordered the arms to be delivered to the Indian, who retired highly gratified. Shortly after, Sir William was present at an entertainment given by the Indian leaders, in the course of which he told the former chief that he had had a dream. He was desired to relate it. He said he dreamed that this Chief had made him a present of a particular tract of country, which he described. (This tract he well knew was much valued by the Indians as being a remarkable hunting ground). The Chief was sensible that a refusal would be attended with the loss of the friendship of the English. He therefore caused the land to be made over, agreeable to the Indian forms. After the ceremony was finished, he advanced to Sir William, and told him privately that it was not his intention to dream any more.

From the river Raisin, I proceeded in my journey, for some time, without meeting anything material. The roads through the woods are every where difficult, and would be in many places impassable, were it not for trunks of trees, which, at bad steps, afford firm footing. After two or three days travelling, bad weather drove me into a cottage for shelter. A gentleman in the neighborhood, (Captain Frazer), being informed by the proprietor of the circumstance, invited me to his house, where I continued till the next day. I had some conversation with this gentleman, on the state of the country. He informed me that he had discovered lead mines on his estate. The samples he produced seemed pregnant with ore, but as the doctrine of minerals was a subject in which neither of us affected to be conversant, we could not determine whether it was of the white or black kind. The opinions of others had induced Captain Frazer to suppose it to be the latter. Black lead is much more rare and valuable than white. In England, I believe, it is principally discovered in the county of Westmoreland.

I took charge of some samples which I delivered to the Governor, who had expressed a desire to have them transmitted to him. No doubt

every attention has been paid to discover how far the ore was valuable, and the mine of an extent to render it worth working. Nothing, it is to be presumed, has been neglected, in case of approval, which could render it generally useful to the country, and beneficial to the proprietor.

It is to be remarked of this part of the country, to some extent, that scarce a twig was cut in it, till the year 1784. To a philosophical mind, no prospect can be so grateful, as the progress of culture. A small patch of waving grain,—a little eddy of smoke, scarce surmounting the tops of the trees, and announcing a human habitation,—the cheerful crowing of a cock,—all gratify, when unexpectedly encountered. They bear testimony that man is gaining on the desert, and that the blessing of existence is about to be extended to a greater number of rational beings, from the increase of their support. The man who could pass through a country like this, and occasionally see a new and more commodious habitation, arising by the side of one hastily constructed, and inconvenient, without feeling strong emotions, may be good for an hundred purposes. He might have all that fine feeling which renders men exquisitely alive to self-love, but he knows nothing of the social.

Almost all the persons who reside in this part have been in the army, and at the peace, received grants of lands, and the officers half pay. At the time I passed through, the lower orders were killing their hogs, to lay up as store for winter provision. In so infant a settlement, it would have been irrational to expect that abundance which bursts the granaries, and lows in the stalls of more cultivated countries. There was, however, that kind of appearance which indicated that with economy and industry, there would be enough.

I was advised here to return to the batteau, as it would be impossible to proceed much further by land, on account of some impassable swamps. One soon after appearing in view, I embarked, and arrived in about three days, without anything material occurring at Cataraqui.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, April 15, 1795.

Dear Sir,

At the extremity of the rapids, and the entrance on the lake Ontario, is situated the town of Cataragui. This place is, like every other in Canada, to the southward of Montreal, very inconsiderable, consisting, principally, of one street, in the nature of a quay, extending along the border of the river.

There is a small fort in here, in which a company of the 60th regiment performed duty. Of this regiment, which is named the Royal American regiment, it is to be remarked, that it is the largest in His Majesty's service, consisting of four battalions. Another peculiarity is, that it is almost constantly stationed in America, or the Islands. Military men, however, frequently purchase, by preference, into this corps, as experience has evinced, that promotion in it was more than usually rapid.

When I was last at Cataragui, Captain Porter was commanding officer. This gentleman unites, to very pleasing manners, an extensive knowledge of the world, and a portion of literary acquirements, not usually found among gentlemen of the sword. This latter qualification probably was the cause of his being selected to act as Judge Advocate at Quebec, on the trial of the mutineers of Prince Edward's regiment, on which occasion his conduct was stamped with general approbation. A mind well informed is highly estimable even in Europe. It becomes invaluable, when encountered in the wilds of Canada.

The situation of Cataragui is, on the whole, one of the most desirable, I met with in Upper Canada. The walks and rides in the vicinity of this place are highly picturesque.

As it was known to be the intention of the Government, to erect a town as the Capital of Upper Canada, and seat of Government, opinions were necessarily various as to the propriety of its situation. Some decided for Niagara, others for Cataragui. The Governor adopted a third opinion in favor of an establishment at the river La Trenche, situated about 50 miles to the South-west of Niagara. Toronto on lake Ontario, distant about 35 miles North-east from Niagara was afterwards selected as being a more convenient situation, biassed most of the inhabitants to decide for their own settlements.

Unconnected with the country, I will assign to you the reason why I would suggest Cataragui, as the most eligible site. The advantages,

requisite to be combined in such a situation, are those of security and a commodious depot for commerce. With respect to the former, Catarqui has a natural barrier to the North in the difficulty of approach by the rapids,—to the southward, in the ascendancy of the British marine on the Lake, and more immediately from its contiguity to Carleton island, the possession of which must ever confer security on this place, but, in a commercial point of view, its advantages are beyond all competition.

It must ever be deemed the first point of wisdom in the founder of a city, to pay attention to local circumstances. Nature must not be forced, nor the progress of culture overlooked. A Peter the Great, 'tis true, and a few others have erred successfully against all rule. The shaking morass has been converted into firm foundation. The desert has, on a sudden, bloomed with culture and population, but it has been at the expense of humanity. In fact, such men are not models for modern subordinate projectors. The question is not now what a tyrant may do to excite admiration, but in what manner a delegated authority may be most usefully employed for the advantage of a great commercial nation. Now it appears to me, that the advantages of Catarqui have not been sufficiently attended to. The country, in its neighborhood, is already in a comparative state of forwardness, with respect to population, and culture. The farms on the Bay of Quinté are the most flourishing, and the transport of their produce, the most convenient of any in the whole extent of Upper Canada. This alone, *ceteris paribus*, ought to suffice to obtain it a preference, but when to the advantages already enumerated is annexed its central situation, we, in vain, look for the motive, which could induce a preference elsewhere.

The advantages of a central situation are obvious. It tends to consolidate the strength of the colony. In place of a few straggling farms on the banks of a river, culture will make some progress, with the interior. Villages will arise in the centre of plantations, with the grounds of the inhabitants, diverging in every direction around. This will give a settlement, a compactness more beneficial to the individuals who compose it, and the government who protect it. Should Catarqui be overlooked, and the establishment formed at Toronto, Niagara, or the river La Trenche, there will then be a distance of near 400 miles from Niagara to Montreal without a single town of strength, and without a single inducement to increase its present scanty population;

indeed so much is the reverse to be apprehended, that the probability is, that it will continually decrease by the inhabitants migrating to the neighborhood of the Capital, as the best means of rendering their industry valuable.

To those who are in authority, I would say, follow nature. By making your first grand establishment at Cataraqui, you insure a population that will be rapidly progressive in a country, from Montreal to that place of 180 miles in extent. If you do not, but select one of the above mentioned situations, you will leave behind you a tract of near 400 miles, which will every day become more desolate. You will have created a desert chasm, between the two provinces, when, for mutual advantages, there ought to have been a close connected population. The price of merchandize is already sufficiently dear to the consumer in consequence of two different freights. Why annex to it the expense of a third to the inhabitants of the Capital, and its neighborhood before the increased resources of the country will enable them to sustain it. By making Cataraqui, the site of the capital, you take the only effectual step to improve the present difficult navigation of the rapids. From the increase of population in that neighborhood, so many will find an interest in its improvement, that canals will be cut near places of danger, to facilitate the intercourse by water between the two provinces. When this plan is accomplished, the colonials of Upper Canada will be on a level with their neighbors of the Lower province, in the ability of exporting their superfluous grain, and till it is accomplished Upper Canada must continue an establishment burthensome to the British Empire.

It may be gratifying to human vanity to say, "this have I done,—where now you see this good city arise, I did not find one stone laid upon another. Where you behold these fields of waving grain, the sun could not penetrate for shady woods." Yet all this may be a matter of reproach, if it be a forced, and unnatural production, if it is a partial good obtained by the sacrifice of general interest. The ruler, who promotes agriculture, certainly contributes to the feeding of those who are under his government, but he who enables them to carry their surplus produce to a foreign market, does more, for he assists in clothing. Praise is doubtless due to the founders of cities, and the leaders of armies, but superior reputation awaits those who, by laying open the avenues to commerce enable mankind to obtain, with facility, the comforts, and conveniences of life. This reputation will await him,

who renders the navigation, between Cataraqui and Montreal, convenient for the transport of corn and flour.

At a distance of about 40 miles to the South-east of this place, on the lake Ontario, is the fort of Oswego. This is one of the Western ports, which, by treaty, we are to deliver up to the Americans. The number of men stationed here is very trifling, indeed its only use appears to be that it is a connecting link in the chain of those Posts, which it has been thought necessary to erect for the protection of the fur trade. Vessels pass frequently between those places whilst the lake is open.

In the summer of 1792, two large transports arrived from England at Quebec. They had been taken up by government principally for the purpose of conveying American Loyalists to Canada, to establish themselves as colonists. Many of them, I was informed, had lands assigned them in the neighborhood of Cataraqui. The lower class of those emigrants, whom government protected, are provided for in the following manner: a certain portion of land being assigned them, they are furnished with some necessary implements of husbandry, a certain quantity of rations of pork, flour, and peas, which provisions are renewed to them, from time to time, for the space of two or three years, and thus furnished, they are what is there termed, sent into the bush, where they may cover themselves in, as fast as they please, and will find sufficient scope for the exertion of active industry. I was informed that, at the end of 3 or 4 years, many of these families are established in a very comfortable manner, though, at the commencement, it is certain, they must encounter many inconveniences.

It is an old adage, that a man's children are his riches, though the truth of this might well be controverted in England and some other countries, yet it certainly holds good throughout America. In the case of the poor man, it is particularly applicable. Such a person cannot have his quiver too well assorted with them. Their use, however, is not according to the Psalmist to enable him "to meet his enemies in the gate," but to cut down trees in the wood. In fact, as soon as a child can walk, he becomes useful in some shape or other. Personal labor is so dear, that every exertion of it becomes valuable. It might be thought that in a country like Canada, abounding in wood, fuel would be obtained at a small expense. That is far from being the case, as is experienced by those families, who are unconnected with farming, and therefore under the necessity of purchasing it. The

labor of felling the timber, cutting it to convenient lengths, splitting it into rude pieces, and finally conveying it to the house of the purchaser, renders it an article of considerable expense, nor is this all, for when thus brought home the pieces are only reduced to a size fit to be used in the kitchen. That which is intended for the other apartments, and the consumption of the stoves must still be divided, and subdivided into small lengths calculated for that purpose, a process which is performed with a handsaw by laborers hired for the purpose, who, at task work, can, by this means, earn above a dollar a day. The extreme cold which prevails in this country in winter and the want of coals render a proper provision of this article well worthy attention during the season of autumn.

The man who resides in these parts of America, without being engaged in some active pursuit, will quickly find his existence a dreamy void. There are no scenes for loungers. There is no regular supply of daily papers for perusal. In Europe, a man will, in general, find people as idle as himself, with whom he can communicate, but here, unless in the depth of winter, every moment is valuable. The exigencies of such infant establishments require unremitting exertion. An instance of this kind fell under my notice at this place. A gentleman from England had, a short time before, been appointed to a place under government, which did not adequately fill up his time. Unacquainted with tillage, he knew not how to employ himself. He appeared to labor under the pressure of inactivity, without the means of redress. He was a person of much good sense, and a competent share of information, but he could not meet with persons, sufficiently disengaged from necessary avocations to communicate with him. I would therefore seriously recommend to every person who purposes to emigrate to America to put this question pointedly to himself, "am I qualified for, and can I attach myself to trade or agriculture?" And this self examination is more particularly necessary for those who could live independent of either, as it is on such that the irksomeness of idleness will fall most heavy. In the towns and cities of England, the bustle of the crowd in which a man moves, offers disguises for him that he is doing nothing, and the relief of an evening club, carries him through the day, but where these are wanting, real business must be substituted.

The best houses of accommodation for strangers at Cataragui,

are those of Darley and Robbins, the former an Englishman, the latter an American.

Those who want to proceed to Niagara, seldom want the opportunity of a passage, across the lake Ontario, about two or three days during the summer season as vessels are constantly passing and re-passing, unless a contrary wind intervenes. All intercourse, however, by water, closes from the latter end of November, till some time in April by which time the ice, that accumulates in winter, is dispersed. Most of the vessels, which navigate the lake are in the King's service, others in the merchants. The price for cabin passengers is two guineas, and one for a servant. For this, they undertake to furnish necessaries. It will, however, be a very proper caution to make an extra provision, as the articles are seldom either abundant in quantity, or superior in quality. The distance, between the two places, is about 170 calculated miles. This inland voyage is performed in about 30 hours. It is however often extended, with unfavorable winds to three or four days. Persons accustomed to our fresh water lakes will think it extraordinary, that sickness is more likely to take place in traversing one of these inland seas, than in crossing the Atlantic. I have seen those who have repeatedly passed the Western ocean, without being affected, violently agitated on lake Ontario, during boisterous weather. The reason is that on the latter, in the case of a brisk gale, the waves break into a quick short sea, the rapid variation of whose motion agitates the bowels severely, whilst in the former, long sea, is generally encountered whose motion is more equable.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, April 24, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Niagara is the present seat of Government in Upper Canada. The prospect of it to a stranger is far from gratifying. It neither presents him with the regularity of ancient establishments, nor yet with the elegant simplicity of rural culture. The former might well be dispensed with, but the mind of man prone to anticipate, and combine images it deems analagous, does not so cheerfully acquiesce in the want of the latter. It knows the necessity of tillage to such

establishments, and regrets when it cannot discover the footsteps of the power of cultivation.

This settlement may be divided into Niagara, properly so-called, and the village of Newark. The former comprehends the fort, and a few houses erected at the bottom of the eminence on which the fort is situated. On the other side of the river Niagara, is Newark, where the Governor, and principal persons in office reside. This is a poor wretched straggling village, with a few scattered cottages erected here and there as chance, convenience, or caprice dictated. The Governor's house is distinguished by the name of Navy Hall. A family accustomed to the conveniences of England, must have found this a most uncomfortable abode. At present, however, additions and improvements have been made, so as to render it (words missing in ms.)

Its situation lying in a low bottom bordering on the river, with swampy patches in its neighborhood must be highly injurious to health, as the Governor, and part of his family, I was informed, experienced soon after their arrival.

The river of Niagara, in that part where the ferry is established, fronting the fort, is about a third of a mile in breadth. It is of considerable depth, previous to its disemboguing itself into the lake, which probably proceeds from its being the outlet of communicating lakes, whose accumulated waters, being here suddenly narrowed, have excavated a passage for themselves, more than ordinarily deep.

Colonel Simcoe, lately promoted to the rank of General, was Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, when I arrived there in November, 1792, and, I believe, still continues. I have already mentioned that Lord Dorchester is supreme Governor over both provinces, though it is supposed that he seldom interferes with the regulations of the Lieutenant Governor.

The creation of places and sinecures for the attainment of patronage have been not unfrequently objected to our Governors, but I think the most republican mind would acknowledge that there is nothing superfluous, either in the incomes or number of places in the Upper Canada establishment. Everything has been pared down to the very quick of economy. With the exception of half a dozen employments, I do not know of any that are rated at more than one hundred pounds a year, and those few in number. When I consider the many articles, for the supply of which these settlements are indebted to the mother country, and the high prices which the merchants are

obliged to dispose of them at, I have no difficulty in declaring that I think £60 a year in England, would go as far as £100 in Upper Canada.

The principal offices of the Government are those of Governor, Chief Justice, Attorney General, Receiver General, and Secretary of the Province, situations which are respectively filled by General Simcoe, and Messrs Osgood, White, Russell, and Jarvis.

Mr. Osgood, the Chief Justice has, I have been informed, been latterly promoted to the Chief Justiceship of Quebec, vacant by the death of Mr. Smith.

Nothing can be conceived more dreary than the united view of Niagara and Newark in the depth of winter—the river and mouth of the lake, choked up,—all communication frequently cut off between the two places by the drifting ice, wood on one side and the extensive water on the other. Such is the winter scene Niagara presents.

● Provisions are particularly dear, and scarce at this season, as the farms are small, and the farmers are unwilling to break in on their small stocks, which they wish to preserve for breeding. Most of the large cattle which are killed are brought in from the States. Many of the inhabitants on the Newark side are furnished with bread by the baker, who resides in the Fort, so that when the ferry is prevented from plying longer than usual by the severity of the weather, the lending half a loaf confers no small obligation. The King's provisions, however, which some of the inhabitants are entitled to receive, contribute to render the scarcity less felt, than it otherwise would be.

Another great resource to all ranks here, is the quantity of fish taken by the seine in Niagara river. That which is most abundant is a species denominated the white fish. It is generally superior in size to a large mackerel. In point of flavor this fish can boast but little merit. It is too soft and oily, but then it is fresh, which is a very considerable recommendation. Detachments from the garrison were often engaged in this very useful employment. I have been informed that many hundreds were frequently taken at a single haul. Sturgeon are also caught in this river. If I recollect right, it is of the roe of this fish, that the dish called *caviare* is composed. In this case, it should seem that the common people here are pretty much of the same opinion with those in Denmark, in Hamlet's time, who, speaking of somewhat not generally relished, described it as being "*caviare to the multitude.*" Sturgeon is held in very slight estimation at Niagara, though in my opinion, it possesses that firmness which seems to be the

great criterion of excellence in fish. In England it is deemed a luxury.

Another resource offers itself in the beginning of summer. At this period, vast flights of wild pigeons pass over this part of the country. They appear to migrate from the States of America, and, in general, fly very low, so that they are brought down in great numbers by the sportsmen of the country; and the Indians. It is said, the soldiers have occasionally knocked them down with sticks. It will require a considerable exercise of faith in a man, who has never travelled out of England, to believe, that these flights, in the course of a morning, if connected, would measure four or five miles in extent. Such however is the fact. The best time for meeting these birds in large quantities, is from about the time of sunrise till eight or nine o'clock. A small species of the wild duck is occasionally met with in this river, and its neighborhood, but it is of a fishy flavor. The Indians sometimes bring in venison. It has however little of that ferine taste for which it is admired in England. It has seldom any fat. The usual mode of dressing it, is to cut it into steaks which are fried. Now and then partridges are to be met with, but they are scarce. The only remaining game, if I may call them such, are squirrels. Large black ones are found about this place in great plenty. It is a difficult matter to get within shot of them, from their great agility. The best mode is for the sportsman to give a shout, in which case the squirrel generally takes to a tree, and becomes an easy mark. Squirrels are frequently served up at dinner, and, if well dressed, it must be confessed that they compose a dish which prejudice alone could induce one to reject.

In speaking of the bay of Quinté, I omitted mentioning a species of fish which is found there in great plenty, namely the black bass. They are generally about two pounds in weight, and for firmness, and flavor are only inferior to the turbot.

Such are the supplies which nature presents, for the support of a man in these districts. For the rest, he must be indebted to his own industry in rearing them to maturity.

The houses, in general, through this Province are made of wood, and never exceed two stories, but, usually are of one. It might be supposed that such being the materials, they were liable to frequent accidents from fire. This, however, seldom happens. Many of the houses have a balcony or piazza of wood, erected in front, covered, and floored with the same material. This, the inhabitants term a

stoop. In such a country, it proves very convenient, affording in summer, shade from the sun, and in winter shelter from the storm, and contributes to health, by holding out an inducement to exercise, in every season.

At Niagara, as in all parts of Canada, they are much attached to dancing. During winter, there are balls once a fortnight. These entertainments are not like many English Assemblies, mere bread and butter billets, where nothing is to be met with but cold tea and vapid negus, but parties at which the exhausted dancers may recruit with a substantial supper, and extend their diversion beyond the tame limits of eleven, and twelve o'clock, hours at which a company only begins to enter into the spirit of the amusement.

On my first entering the assembly at Newark, I felt much surprised at the gay appearance which presented itself. Feathers, trinkets, and all the paraphernalia, which distinguish the haughty dames of Britain, were here visible. Not expecting such a scene from the appearance of the country, I could not avoid silently interrogating myself, can I be at the extremity of the lake Ontario. The appearance of the military gentlemen, and of the ladies of the married ones, contributes much to enliven the scene, nor are the native ladies deficient in emulation and display. Many of them are very pretty women, and, after having figured at a ball, return home with renewed cheerfulness to the performance of those domestic duties, which are so peculiarly necessary in a colonial life.

The inhabitants of this country are very hospitable. Soon after the entrance of a visitor, spirituous liquors, and madeira are almost always introduced. Usages of this kind appear singular to Europeans. They are however founded in reason. Among a people, where the cold is extreme a considerable part of the year, where covered carriages are unknown, and the roads indifferent, with few houses of accommodation, it may be presumed that such refreshments cannot be unacceptable. Indeed, if there is occasion to employ any of the lower ranks, there is small progress to be made, without the aid of liquors. Pay what you will to them for any little service performed, the compact is never acknowledged as a just one, unless there is an appeal to the rum bottle, in the *dernier resort*.

Madeira, or a wine so called, is that which is usually drank in these provinces. Port wine is of inferior estimation. As the former, in England, is deemed an expensive one, I was surprised to meet with

it, among a description of persons, who, in the old country, would think themselves sufficiently regaled with a horn of home brewed. Many of these, are, however, connoisseurs in their palates, pronounce on the merits of madeira with a smack, and check it down with as much *sang-froid* as if it were their native beverage.

At the time I left the country, the Governor had taken some steps towards the establishment of a brewery, in the hope that the use of a wholesome malt-liquor might be substituted by the lower classes, in the place of ardent spirits. In this hope, he will, I am apprehensive, be, in a great measure disappointed. In manufacturing countries, malt liquors prove excellent refreshment for the sheltered artisan, who works under cover, in a moderate climate, but among a people, whose employments are in the open air, in a severe climate, recourse will be had to some liquor, that will act as a greater stimulus to the animal spirits, and excite immediately the temporary glow. It would no doubt be a most desirable circumstance, that this substitution could be brought about, as tending to the improvement of morals, by cutting off so fruitful a resource of delirious excess, as the intemperate use of drams.

The introduction of malt liquors, into general use, would have other good effects, by its encouragement of husbandry, as opening a market to the farmers, for the sale of barley, and further, by retaining those sums of money in the country, which must be annually disbursed for the purchase of a foreign article. It is, however, to be regretted that these advantages are encountered by an obstacle, too deeply founded, and it may easily be foreseen, that the nature of the climate, will render the plan abortive. Approbation, however, is due to the attempt.

It was a matter of surprize to me, not only in Canada, but in other parts of America, that spruce beer was not in more general use. It seems not to be in esteem, nor is it in that degree of perfection as in England. I had formed a previous idea that this was the common drink of the country, from the facility with which it could be obtained, and that the Americans would have piqued themselves, on bringing to its utmost degree of excellence, a liquor, which for some time was considered as one of the peculiarities of their country. Taken occasionally as an alterative, the medicinal uses of this liquor, are, I believe, many. It certainly is a powerful antiscorbutic, and, in general, may be deemed highly efficacious, in all maladies which pro-

ceed from a languid circulation of the blood, or a costive habit of the body, qualities for which it is indebted to the fixed air it contains, which communicates its active influence through the human frame.

Dean Swift has somewhere said, that the man, who caused a blade of grass to grow where one had not been before, was of more use to mankind, than many heroes and philosophers. In like manner, it might be said with respect to this country, that he who could invent some machine for the levelling of trees, ought deservedly to obtain a high rank, among the benefactors of men. I have been led into this reflection by considering the great quantity of moist grounds and swamps, that are everywhere to be found in this country, which, corrupting the air, tend to render the days of man brief and languishing. The trees are in many places so thick, that the sun cannot penetrate the shady gloom. Even in the middle of summer, I have travelled through roads, where, at almost every step, the horse sunk above his fetlocks, in many places to his belly. Hence, the ague, with slow but certain progress, undermines the life of the husbandman, unstrings his nerves, prostrates him on the couch of sickness. His wife, his children are debilitated by the tainted breeze. The song of rural cheerfulness is exchanged for the small, slender voice of sympathetic wailing. All labor is suspended, and the little savings of industrious exertion, exultingly laid by to increase the stock of the farm, waste away, by the frequent necessity of purchasing expensive remedies, to check the progress of disease. Let the husbandman of Britain, who occasionally bends beneath the weight of his country's taxation, cast an eye on the husbandman of America, quite sunk under the taxation of nature. If he meditates a change of situation, let him figure to himself the wan cheek, and sallow complexion of the American group, whilst health glows on the cheeks, and sparkles in the eyes of his children. Labor, to him, brings strength, not disease, and he inhales vigor from the gate.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, May 2, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Scenes, such as I have described in my last, I have frequently met with in this Province. Indeed, few of any rank, escape this disorder, though the attacks are less frequent on those of superior condition, from their greater ability to use a preventive regimen. The seasons, when this disorder is most prevalent, are the periods of spring and autumn. The use of the bark, and a strong generous wine are among the best specifics that have yet been discovered.

I have often thought what an awkward circumstance it must prove to a military man, to be affected by this disorder at a period of hostilities. A high spirited character would unwillingly give way to the impression of a malady, whose attacks are intermitting, so as to decline an engagement, and yet what solicitude must he experience, least an unseasonable return of his complaint, should irresistibly impress on his limbs, that tremulous motion, which is deemed the usual concomitant of fear. How easy, at so cruel a coincidence, for envy, jealousy, or false friendship to whisper away a well earned reputation. I have conceived such a case, and felt for the sufferer.

As this malady proceeds from the country not being sufficiently cleared, and exposed to the genial rays of the sun, which would exhale its superfluous moisture, every encouragement ought to be held out to the skilful in mechanics, to direct their attention towards the invention of some machine, to expedite human labor in this particular. Sir William Johnson, whose memory is still dear to the inhabitants of this country, produced one, but it proved inadequate on trial. This, however, ought not to excite despondency. It must be, after numerous repulses that true genius will relinquish the path of science, and confound difficulty with impossibility, nor will the mathematician forget the boast of Archimedes, that, with ground to stand on, and an extensive lever, he would undertake to move the world.

Though there is little to interest in the prospect of Niagara, nothing can be more romantic than a road which leads from it, to a place, called "The Landing," about 9 miles distant. Its windings correspond with the course of the river, which is almost everywhere visible. In the summer evenings, it is the usual resort of those who seek air and exercise, and aided by the mild radiance of a setting sun, takes in at every open, land-scape worthy the pencil of a Claude. This is the direct road to the Falls.

The landing receives its name, from the necessity of unloading all goods which have passed the lake, and are intended for the upper country, at this place, the river of Niagara, not being navigable further. There is no regular town or village. Two or three scattered dwellings, with a few storehouses, and the King's wharf constitute, what is called, "The Landing." A temporary addition was made to this, a short time before I arrived in the country, by the erection of a connected chain of huts, on the bank of the river, in the nature of a barracks, for the accommodation of the Queen's Rangers, a corps of which the Governor is colonel. The situation was well sheltered by surrounding eminences, and convenient, but the probable effects of a stagnant pool in its neighborhood, were, I fancy, overlooked. To this it was attributed that an extraordinary mortality took place among them, in the course of the winter and spring. It was reported that deaths were so frequent that a man was induced to dig half a dozen graves, on speculation, and was buried in the last of them himself. Whether this anecdote was an unseasonable pleasantry, or founded in truth, certain it is, that numbers perished, before the approach of summer enabled them to remove to a more healthy encampment on a neighboring hill.

Not far distant from Niagara, is the Genesee country, belonging to the State of New York.

Mr. Poulteney has, it is said, purchased lands there on speculation, to a considerable amount, keeping an English agent to superintend his interests. When we consider the purchases of various kinds which this gentleman has made, both at home and abroad, he appears to have a peculiar attachment to *terra firma*, and whatever can be erected thereon. No man can object to him the *auri sacra fames*, for he always appears desirous of getting rid of it, on good security.

The fort of Niagara is one of the Western posts which, by treaty, we have agreed to surrender to the Americans, on the performance of certain conditions, which, I think, were:

10. The restoring certain friends of the British government to their estates.

20. The leaving their Courts of Justice open to the recovery of debts due to British subjects previous to the war.

How far the business has been arranged by the late treaty, concluded on the part of America, by Mr. Jay, I am not aware. The Americans have, for some time, claimed the delivery of the forts, as

having fulfilled the conditions. The English have refused on the ground that the conditions were not fulfilled.

There was little stress laid on the first condition, but with respect to the second, the English agreed thus:—true, it is said, they, our merchants certainly could bring actions in your Courts, but it was nearly impossible to meet with a jury that would give a verdict in their favor. So that, with respect to this condition, the English deny that it has been virtually fulfilled, and on this point, the two nations have been at issue without proceeding to extremities on either part. To me, it appears that the Americans have the best of the argument.

As the English have been more peculiarly tenacious of the good faith of treaties than any other nation, I am unwilling that they should forfeit any part of that character by pertinacity, on a point that will not bear it. If the English have sustained any loss, the blame, in my apprehension, ought to be imputed to those ministers who drew up the condition incautiously. The American administration did not, by that condition, undertake to guarantee the payment of the debts, but simply to put the British creditor on the same footing with the creditor of their own nation. It would have been a political solecism, in them to have said, "we undertake to force the consciences of men, who are sworn to determine, according to truth and justice. This we could not have said, but this we say, you have acknowledged the propriety of our tribunals, and submitted your interests to their decisions, by the terms of the treaty, and yet no sooner do you find those decisions unfavorable to you, than you retract from stipulations solemnly acceded to the American Legislature, which, contracted with you has performed all that it was bound to perform. It threw no obstacle in the way of the recovery of those debts, nor permitted the period of confusion and hostility between the two countries, in point of lapse of time, so as to constitute a bar of limitation against the claim of the British creditor. This reasoning is, I think, conclusive.

Oswego, Niagara, and Detroit are in the number of the contested posts. The great advantage to be derived from the possession of them is, that it secures an ascendancy in the fur trade, but if the securing advantages were a plea for breach of treaties, what treaty would ever be fulfilled.

The 5th regiment of foot was in garrison at the Fort, during the time I continued at this place. The present Duke of Northumberland, then Lord Percy, was colonel of this regiment in the American war. Hostilities were, I believe, first commenced by this corps in that contest when ordered out to Lexington.

Major Smith, lately promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel was commanding officer at the Fort.

This military body has a very martial appearance. An unfortunate accident took place in July, 1793, which evinces that they will not be caught napping. An officer on guard, at midnight, directed a sergeant to pass over a palisade, which surrounds the fort, to discover whether a particular sentinel was attentive to his duty. Whilst the man was clambering over, he was challenged by the guard, and not answering, from an unwillingness to discover himself, he was immediately brought down by a shot from the sentinel, who gave this fatal proof of his attention to his duty. The ball had entered the sergeant's thigh. Every assistance was given, but after languishing a few days, the poor man expired.

The fort of Niagara may be considered as a place of strength, when compared with the means, which it is likely in such a country could be brought to reduce it. There is an *abbatis*, on the land side, which could not be passed without considerable carnage.

The Indians, in this part of Canada, are less reclaimed than those in the Lower Province. Much of the ascendancy, which Sir William Johnson formerly possessed over the people, seems, at present to be transferred to Colonel Butler. This gentleman commanded a corps in the late war, under the title of Butler's Rangers. He is at the head of the Indian department. There is much trouble connected with this situation. To be always open to the visits of these people, to conform to their prejudices, and to rectify their misapprehensions, these are cares and difficulties which entitle a man to no ordinary recompense. As the Colonel is advanced in life, should age or infirmities deprive government of his services, they will find an able substitute in his son, Mr. Johnson Butler. After being educated for some time in England, this gentleman has resided latterly entirely in Canada. Accustomed to the language, usages and customs of the Indians from early life, these people will scarce be sensible of a change in transferring their regard from father to son. I have no difficulty in saying that I have seldom met so much manly good

sense, unassuming manner and decided intrepidity in any character.

The Governor's regiment, (the Queen's Rangers) lay at the Landing, or in its neighborhood. This corps has little to boast of in point of appearance. The privates, in general, were small, feeble, illmade men, probably the less pains was taken in selecting them as it does not seem to have been intended that they should be confined to militia men. A part of them were hired out as servants through the country at the rate of about five dollars a month, the person who hired, at the same time receiving an intimation from the Adjutant to reserve one York shilling, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ d sterling per day, for the use of the corps, who understood trades, as carpenters. Shoemakers received much higher wages, and the reserve was in proportion. This plan, which under most other circumstances, I would have disapproved of as being unusual, tending to degrade the dignity of the service, was certainly suitable under the existing circumstances. In a country where personal labor was so very valuable, it would have been absurd to retain such a quantum of potential industry inactive. Whether it was to be exercised in the field, or in mechanics, the wants of the colony were, in both respects urgent. The Governor, therefore, with much propriety, permitted an arrangement which gave such a useful accession of strength to agriculture, and the necessary arts. You will be enabled to form some idea of the value of labor in this place, when I mention that the price of an ordinary pair of gentleman's shoes was one York pound or 12-6d sterling, and that a journeyman carpenter usually received two dollars per day.

It was natural to enquire in what manner this reserved money was employed for the benefit of the corps. I was informed from a quarter that ought to be deemed authority, that the greater part of it was expended in the purchase of wine for the use of the sick. As I was sensible that no remedy equally efficacious with a good strong wine for the general disorder, (the ague), could have been prescribed, this answer could not but prove satisfactory. Probably to this generous supply, it was owing that the corps had not been annihilated, when we consider the number which, notwithstanding, could not be rescued from the grave by this liberal regimen. It would be reflecting on the skill that presided to say that any died of intemperance. This was not once suggested.

Taxation is but little known in Upper Canada, indeed it could not well be borne by the bulk of the people. Hitherto the colony has

been most kindly fostered, and cherished by the British nation at its own expense. This, however, cannot be looked to as an arrangement which either can, or ought to be permanent. No commercial country, or indeed any country, can be supposed to support a colony, merely for the pleasure of doing so.

The Houses of Assembly met for their second session in the month of June, 1793, at Niagara. Ordinances were then enacted for making rates for the erection of Churches and gaols. They were, however, very moderate, and such as would be but little felt. With the rising prosperity of the Colony, greater ones must be submitted to so as to provide for all matters of internal police. If I were to suggest an idea on the subject of taxation from a knowledge of the state of the country, it would be, that government, for a few years, should authorize its officers to receive the assessed taxes in rations of provisions. The adoption of this mode would prove a stimulus to industry, prevent the scanty capital of the colonist from being diminished, and prove, equally, if not more, beneficial to the state, which, at present, purchases victualling supplies to a considerable amount for the support of indigent emigrants and others. Thus would taxation, and the increasing prosperity of the country by population go hand in hand.

In the summer of 1793, great numbers emigrated, from the Northern States of America, to Upper Canada, with the prospect of obtaining lands. They were principally from Vermont, Massachusetts, and the neighborhood of the Mohawk river. In general, the farms in the States of America have three sets of proprietors,—the original colonist, who fells the timber, a second, who builds an indifferent house, and introduces some degree of culture, and finally, the opulent farmer whose capital enables him to give it that improvement it is capable of receiving. A proclamation of the Governor's was their inducement to come in. It cannot be supposed that all these people were satisfied with the proffers that were made them. Many were discontented. The Governor was aware that had he granted lands in the proportion required, it would have rendered those persons not settlers, but mere land jobbers, a description of men that he very properly took every opportunity of reprobating. The land jobbers of America may be considered in the same point of view, as those who make a trade of rack renting in these countries. When I deliver this opinion, I must be understood as speaking of them in their rela-

tion to the general welfare. The individual may be amiable as a private character, but his public conduct has a tendency injurious to the common utility. The good effects of this guarded policy will be felt materially. It will give Upper Canada resident inhabitants, and not nominal speculating proprietors enjoying the luxuries of great cities, without any other knowledge of the country, than what they derive from the charts of their estates. To such men, applying for lands, it would be always fair to quote the genuine agricultural maxim: "Praise a large farm, but cultivate a small one."

An institution of a nature perfectly suitable to such a country was established at Niagara, namely, an agricultural society. They had monthly meetings at Newark at a house called "Freemasons' Hall," where they dined together. It is not supposed that in such an infant settlement, many essays would be produced on the theory of farming, or that much time would be taken up with deep deliberation. Every good purpose was answered by the opportunity it afforded of chatting in parties after dinner on the state of crop, tillage, etc. Two stewards were in rotation for each meeting, who regulated for the day. The table was abundantly supplied with the produce of their farms, and plantations. Many of the merchants and others, unconnected with country business were also members of this society. All had permission to introduce a visitor. The Governor directed ten guineas to be presented to this body for the purchase of books,—a countenance honourable to himself, and to the Society.

A weekly paper has also been established at Niagara, the expense of which is defrayed partly by subscription, and partly by Government. A Londoner, who enjoys daily the means of intelligence, even to satiety, can form no idea what a luxury a packet of papers from England is, at Niagara, when at the beginning of spring, the communication is opened. The buzz of confused rumor and report bears analogy to that which Swift informs us took place in some Northern region, where men's words freezing at the commencement of a frost were thawed at its dissolution, into sounds, tumultuous and indistinct.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, May 9, 1795.

Dear Sir,

General Simcoe, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, commanded a corps of partizans in the late war, denominated the "Queen's Rangers." He married a niece of Lord Graves, then admiral. With this lady he received a handsome fortune. Colonel Simcoe was considered as an officer of merit, and served with reputation, but whether the Government was intended as a recompense for his services, or its attainment is to be referred to the interest of Mrs. Simcoe's relations, opinions are various. The Governor appears in age to be verging to fifty. In figure tall, strong rather than elegantly formed, an open countenance, and an eye not void of intelligence. This gentleman is plain and unaffected in his manners. The opinion, however, impressed in general by his appearance was that he was a man of apathy.

Mrs. Simcoe is a lady of manners, highly interesting, equally distant from hauteur or levity. Accustomed to fashionable life, she submits with cheerfulness to the inevitable inconvenience of an infant colony. Her conduct is perfectly exemplary, and admirably conformed to that correct model, which ought to be placed before a people, whom a high pattern of dissipation would mislead, of extravagance would ruin.

The Governor's table is always well furnished, without any attempt at redundancy. In the pleasures of it, he is extremely temperate. His aids sit at top and bottom. His own place is in the centre of one side. I have always thought this the properest seat for a public character at his own board, it being that which brings his guests in the nearest possible manner within the scope of attention. At table, no person is permitted to think that he is overlooked. Some opportunity is taken by His Excellency of expressing notice, and this notwithstanding a general appearance of the most phlegm.

But methinks you grow impatient, and exclaim, "what! so many pages from my friend, and not a tittle relative to the state of letters in the country, the progress of science, but a slight allusion to the advantages arising from the introduction of that Constitution to which I know him to be attached.

Patience good, my friend. As to the state of letters, am I not writing of Niagara. However, we shall get on by degrees.

It would be absurd to suppose that this be a land, where learned men were abundant. I never met with more than three persons, whose claims to the character of a scholar would be acknowledged in Europe. At the head of these is to be placed the Reverend Mr. Addison, the English minister at Niagara,—next to him, Mr. Osgoode, the Chief Justice, and in the third place, the Governor. You will readily perceive from this arrangement that I am as tenacious as formerly of forming my estimate of talent by desert, and not in the common mode of drawing out a courtly rule to measure how many inches of station. How satirically just was Pope's idea

“Wise if a bishop, etc.”

Mr. Addison ranks high as a classical scholar. His conception is quick, and his imagination vivid. His reading is extensive. The slightest allusion leads him into the path of your ideas, and his eyes tell you that he has not lost you.

As a scholar, Mr. Osgoode has much merit. It is evident that the labours of an active profession have not induced forgetfulness of University pursuits. He says good things, and is not insensible to those of others.

The Governor is a man of some reading, and a tolerable classical scholar. For a man of the world, he appears to be governed too much by maxims. This kind of knowledge, which borrows the brow and voice of wisdom, without being indebted to her for discrimination, ought to be relinquished to the inactive recluse, when he cannot by individual experience. To me, it appears that His Excellency has proposed to himself, as a model, one of Plutarch's chieftains. It ought, however, to be recollected, that not one of Plutarch's heroes was the governor of a modern British province.

There are other gentlemen, through the settlement, whose early destination to commerce, took up that period, which is usually devoted to what is termed, a regular education. Among these, Mr. Hamilton of The Landing, in the neighborhood of Niagara, and Mr. Cartwright of Cataragui, take a decided lead. These are men who are both eminent as merchants, judges of their respective courts, members of the Superior Assembly, and qualified by strong natural parts, and some study to fill their stations, with credit to themselves, and advantages to the country.

The principal merchants at Niagara, are, Messieurs Forsyth, Dickson, Crooks, and McKay.

The house of Forsyth is one of those most extensively established in Canada. Three brothers carry on business at Niagara, Cataragui, and Montreal respectively. They are connected, by family, with one of the first mercantile firms in London.

Mr. Dickson is a young man of strong natural abilities, with a competent knowledge of law, and the constitution. Annexed to these, is a disposition indefatigably active. I know few men, of whose talents, an attentive government would be more desirous of availing itself to perform the duties of a magistrate.

The Houses of Assembly meet at Niagara. The Upper one consists of seven or eight members. The Lower one of sixteen. These are to be increased by the Governor, for the time being, with the increasing population of the country. The Chief Justice is the Speaker of the Upper House, and a Mr. McDonnell of the Lower. As many of the members come a considerable distance, and are, in general, far from being in affluent circumstances, an ordinance was passed which grants to each member, a daily stipend, during the session, and for the expenses of the journey. This regulation is perfectly proper, and suited to the estate of the country.

I have already observed that you are not to consider *all* the laws of England as having been rendered law in Upper Canada. Such a transfer would have been useless, and inapplicable. The whole criminal code is however adopted. The general rules respecting admission of evidence are also comprised, and the trial by jury, but local ordinances qualify the English law in some instances, and reject it in others.

You will be amused, as I was, at the following anecdote.

As trial by jury had been but lately established in the country, it would not be supposed that juries were, as yet, adequately acquainted with their functions, or were sensible of their own powers and consequence. They brought, however, to the judgment seat, a steady attention, and consciences that trembled least they should judge amiss.

An advocate from England, of some authority, determined to avail himself of this apprehensive frame of mind to improve it into a means of influence. Thinking it probable, on a particular trial, from the circumstances that the jury would bring in a verdict against his client, he insinuated that, in such a case, he would bring a writ of attain against them. A writ of attain! Just God! does the feudal

system still prevail? or do we live in an age of chivalry. You may well suppose what a fearful doctrine this would have been to establish in such a country. Despotism itself could not have found a more ready instrument than juries acting under such influence. What a hair suspended sword over the heads of these unfortunate colonists, must this have proved. You know the judgment in such a case "to have their meadows ploughed up, etc., etc. See Blackstone, Vol. 2, page 403.

A writ of attaint at the close of the 18th century! Think you, my friend, that there is any Bench in Westminster Hall, whose gravity would not have been shaken by this, and the risible emotion felt through the extremest ranks of the Bar.

Previous to the arrival of Mr. Addison, the English clergyman at Niagara, marriages were contracted in presence of a magistrate who read the ceremony. This was the usage last century during the Protectorate of Cromwell, when marriage was considered as a mere civil contract, and took place at Niagara of necessity from the want of a person ecclesiastically qualified.

Divine service is performed on Sundays at the Newark side of Niagara, in the house called Freemason's Hall, which I have already mentioned. In good weather it is well attended and everything conducted with suitable decorum.

Freemason's Hall must not pass unnoticed. It is a neat compact building of wood and plaster. The avocations of Scrub in the play, numerous as they were, were nothing in number to the uses Freemason's Hall is converted to. A chapel, a Court of Justice, a Mason's lodge, an agricultural meeting room, a ball room, an Indian Council room, such are a part of the purposes for which this very useful building is applied.

Apropos of Courts of Justice. To one of these coincidences so rare, and therefore so valuable, it was owing, that I was at Niagara, when Mr. Peter Russell, judge, Receiver General, and an Englishman, delivered his maiden charge to a jury. Never did I more regret, the being unacquainted with the art of stenography. Posterity would not then have had to regret it as a desideratum.

In England, a charge is a cool business, in Canada, it occasionally rises to peculiar animation.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, May 17, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Having hitherto bestowed that degree of approbation on men and measures to which I thought them entitled, I am now to bring forward some transactions of a public nature in which I conceive the interest of the colony of Upper Canada has been misunderstood, and the Lieutenant Governor improperly advised.

The first measure I shall comment on was the plan projected for the manumission of negroes. The reasoning I shall now adopt was that which I delivered in the colony, an opinion which (the nature of the subject considered), did not receive much time in the formation from one unacquainted with public business. Those persons in England, to whose judgments I submitted the case, have only been surprised how the question could ever have been started.

In January, 1793, some gentlemen of the settlement informed me that it was the intention of the Governor to liberate the negroes. As they knew that I had been in the habit of studying the laws and constitution of England, they were desirous of having my opinion on the subject. They said, that, the Governor contended that, by the introduction of the English Constitution, slavery was necessarily done away in the colony, as it could not subsist in England. An opinion of this kind, coming from an authority that could enforce it, you may well suppose, excited both surprise and consternation. Some, it is said, went into the States to dispose of their slaves, others, took indentures of theirs, securing their services for a certain number of years, without being aware that if those slaves were virtually entitled to freedom, these indentures would be considered as having been obtained by improper coercion, or duress of imprisonment, and, as such, declared invalid. A third party talked of contesting the business by law, but dreaded the expense of a suit, the result of which, if even favorable to them in the first instance, might finally go against them in an appeal to the Governor in Council, where they apprehended the question might have been already prejudged. As to an appeal, in the last resort, to England, expense would, in this case, receive additional force, besides three fourths of the little planters and farmers might be ruined, without the property to be contested, amounting in value to that sum (£500) which would entitle them to carry the cause into England.

I believe you are sensible that no man existing execrates a traffic in the human species more than myself, but the question was not now relative to the general rights of humanity but how far the introduction of a new system of laws could affect the rights to property legally acquired, previous to the introduction of that system. This was the state of the question when it was first proposed to me. On the first blush of the business, nothing could appear more plain and simple than the solution, namely that there was nothing incompatible in the coexistence of a constitution, similar to that of England, and slavery in one, and the same place. The proof in reference was easy. It was only pointing to our West Indian islands, where, as much of the constitution of England was extended to Upper Canada. It has ever been acknowledged by every man well acquainted with either law or the Constitution to whom I have spoken, that the *ipso facto* manumission from slavery was a grand peculiar solely attached to the British soil, and not extended to its settlements. Reasoning of this kind would be conclusive here, but these colonists wished to have some arguments drawn more immediately from their own ordinances. I had not far to seek for one that produced instant conviction, and added others drawn from the absurdity that would follow, if such a doctrine was established. In the last section of the very first act of their assembly, it is expressly stated that the validity of any late purchase or contract, made previous to the introduction of English law, shall not be affected by such introduction. Disgraceful, as it is, to human nature, it must be acknowledged, that by late purchase and contract a property in negroes is acquired, and that the words of this section expressly rivet their chains. This was the very argument that was wished for. The colonist could carry the act in his pocket, and show page, line, and word, in defense of his property. The arguments, *ex absurds*, were, to this effect,—that up to the introduction of English law in Upper Canada, property acquired agreeable to the forms of French law, was secured by virtue of the Capitulation of Quebec, universally through all Canada. If the English law, and constitution, by their introduction, *ipso facto*, emancipated the negroes, what was the contrasted state of the inhabitants of the two provinces? The contrasted state was, that, in Lower Canada, all property was inviolably secured to those who were for the most part strangers to our laws, our language, and our religion, and, in general averse from them, and that, in Upper Canada, the inhabitants, who

were attached to the English laws and constitution, found themselves, by their introduction, deprived of a considerable portion of their property. Could it have been the object of the British parliament, to place the inhabitants of Upper Canada, in a worse situation, than those of Lower Canada, by depriving them of part of their property, at the very moment, when the British government took merit to itself, for having obtained, for the colonists of that Province, so valuable an acquisition. Again. Many of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are American Loyalists. Of these, a part had negroes in their possession, when they obtained grants of land in Upper Canada. Others expended part of the indemnification they received from the British government, in the purchase of negroes, well knowing the value of bodily labor in the country, in which they were about to settle. Was it the object of the British parliament to ruin these men by the insidious present of a constitution? It was left to the election of many American Loyalists whether they would have grants of lands in the Bahama islands, or in Upper Canada. Many of these have grown rich in those islands, by means of their negroes. Would any have preferred Upper Canada had they supposed that that preference would deprive them of property in fine, as it was known some time previous to the introduction of the English Constitution, that such an event would take place. If it had been, within the scope of reason, apprehension, common sense or the advice of friends either in England or Canada to look for such a consequence from that introduction, would not the proprietors of negroes have hastened to dispose of that property in Lower Canada, or the States, previous to its taking effect? It is irksome to be called on to establish points that are nearly self-evident, but, in a Province like this, the inhabitants, in general, have too many avocations to be expert at refuting those speculative deductions, and consequences, that may be drawn from the acceptance of a constitution.

When William the Conqueror established his feudal system, the English regarded it at first, as a simple regulation, for general convenience. They were not aware of the consequences, which the Norman lawyers deduced from its reception. Posterity have been unanimous in pronouncing those consequences tyrannically oppressive. In the present instance, the consequences are simply erroneous.

It was soon perceived that this ground was not tenable. Therefore, on the ensuing meeting of the Assembly a bill was introduced, not for the immediate emancipation of the negroes, but declaring

them free, after a certain number of years of servitude. This passed into an Act. Do you suppose that this was a voluntary measure on the part of the Assemblies? Certainly it was not, but, apprehensive as they were that the emancipation would take place in full force, with or without their concurrence, from what they were taught to believe of its necessary connexion with the English constitution, it was considered as a saving measure, to adopt a qualifying plan, which at all events gained time, and, at the worst was preferable to a total loss. What then was the plain translation of the Governor's conduct on this occasion. It was precisely saying, "my good friends, you would not permit me to throw away your whole property, but I insist upon reducing it to half its value. Now I expressly assert that, conformable to his duty as a British ruler, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe had no right, either to alienate the whole property in the first instance, or reduce its value in the second. My reasons are these. The Governor must have known, with what guarded care, and caution, the British parliament had discussed the question, on the Slave trade,—how apprehensive they were of appearing to infringe the rights of private property,—of abridging the means of ameliorating that property. They were sensible also how intimately the security of those rights was connected with the general interests of the Empire. When at length, it was discovered, after abortive trials, during many sessions, that the subject might be treated experimentally with safety, what was the result? Was it that immediate emancipation should take place? Was it that it should take place after a lapse of years? Did it in fine, bear any one trait of resemblance to the plan adopted by Governor Simcoe? The result spoke no such language. It bore no such trait of resemblance. There was not a member, in the British House of Commons, who talked of emancipation. There was not ten who thought of it, and those ten would not have gained attention had they attempted to influence. The result was, that the slave trade should be given up, but, on the amendment of Mr. Dundas it was determined that this event should be postponed for the term of five years, during which, it was wisely supposed, that the Planters, in the West Indies, might lay in such a stock, as would prevent any inconvenience from being felt, by the sudden stoppage of the trade, injurious to so numerous a body of individuals and, by consequence, prejudicial to the Empire. It was also foreseen, that the great, and only object in view, namely, the better treatment of the Slaves, would

be equally advanced by this suspended measure, as in case of an immediate abandonment, because it would instantly be perceived by the Planters that native population would henceforth be their single resource, which would only be kept up by kind usage, and attention to the situation of their slaves. The bill, they amended, passed the Commons, but the question was deemed of so great magnitude, by the Peers, that, from delays, occasioned by examination of witnesses, it was lost by a prorogation.

I am thus minute on this head, in order to give, to the contrasts I draw, the most impressive effect. I contrast a stoppage of trade, to take place *in futuro*, on one part, with alienation of property on the other. I contrast the slow deliberative wisdom of the British parliament, with the too prompt decision of a magistrate, scarcely seated in his government. I do not wish to give expression to inferences. They will be felt. Will any man, at all acquainted with the nature of public business pretend to say, that, in the relative situation of this Governor, it was not his bounden duty, to have awaited the decision of the British parliament on the subject, and to have rendered that decision the guide of his conduct. Is property only dear to the inhabitants of the West India islands, or does the poverty of the colonists of Upper Canada invite an exertion of influence, that would elsewhere be constitutionally resisted? If the Assemblies of Upper Canada, with Lieutenant Governor Simcoe at their head, can decide on such a question, why do not other Governors bring it forward in their Colonial Assemblies? Does the Governor of Upper Canada alone feel for the unhappy African? I certainly am of opinion, that there are other men, of equal feeling, in authority. Possibly they think it improper to publish their humanity in an Act of Assembly, when it is to be exercised at the expense of others, their good sense at the same time suggesting that such a question was too great for the decision of an inferior dependence. If, it is said, that this act may be repealed, certainly it may, but is it not injurious to the colony to have brought forward a business which must create heart burnings, however it is determined? Say, was the present the moment to agitate the feelings of the unhappy negroes by presenting them with a prospect of freedom, which they may never approach? The number of negroes in Upper Canada do not render them an object of apprehension, but are their hopes and fears on that account to be sported with? If this business, independent of the loss of the pro-

prietors, holds out nothing of a serious consequence in Upper Canada, is it likely that it will be inconsequential with respect to our West India possessions? When the report of this measure has been disseminated through the Islands, it will render the negroes dissatisfied with the intended regulations of the British parliament, which, when carried into effect will secure them better treatment, and content will subside. They will examine the question anew. They will probably say, "what do they talk to us about the good intentions of the parliament of England,—they be the good friends of the negroes in Africa,—they prevent them from coming here, but what is that to us, we still be slaves? No that Massa Simcoe in Canada he be the blackman's friend. He set the negro free." Certain it is that most things derive their value from comparison. That what would be deemed a positive benefit, may be considered as an act of injustice, if that which is of greater value, be, at the same time injudiciously conferred on equal desert. A measure which may naturally be supposed to affect the negroes of the West Indies in the manner I have described, must, at any time, be deemed imprudent. In the present state of things, in those countries, when so much depends on the minds of these people being well conciliated to Government, it becomes seriously alarming.

In vain is it that I have endeavored to trace out what cause may have given rise to so anomalous a display of the temporary powers of a governor. The judgment which guided his conduct in many other particulars is certainly not discoverable in this. In the number of reports in circulation that which obtained most credit was a motive, which I unwillingly bring forward. It was said that the Governor not being on terms the most amicable with one of the members for Liverpool, from a professional variance, the same discontent accompanied them into the House of Commons, in which assembly General Simcoe was a member for St. Ives, Cornwall,—that the member for Liverpool, supporting the interest of that town on the question of the slave trade, was opposed, though unsuccessfully, by the member for St. Ives, who, soon after being appointed to the government of Upper Canada, was determined to obtain a partial victory, manifest the controversy in his province, by the emancipation of the negroes. Such was the report. Weighty consequences are often derived from trivial cause, but no this cannot be. The classical Governor of Upper Can-

ada could not lay a foundation on which to erect an arch in memory of the triumph of pique, over judgment.

The next public measure, I bring forward for comment, is the admission of goods, duty free, from the States of America in May, 1793, I consider this concession as injurious to the British Empire.

The principal advantage of a colony to every Commercial country must be that it accords a vent for the commodities of the present State. England has never been peculiarly jealous on this head.

In the month of May, 1793, a large boat, belonging to an American Captain, I think his name was Welton, arrived from the States of America. Having sailed up the Mohawk river into the Lake Ontario, he landed his goods on the Newark side of Niagara, under cover of a tent pitched on the beach. The goods were exposed to sale, and the Captain, being enabled to dispose of them at prices inferior to the current ones at Niagara, purchasers crowded from all parts. The merchants of Niagara, alarmed at the circumstance, inquired why the goods had not been seized, on being exposed to sale, but they inquired in vain. No answer could be obtained. Boats arriving with emigrants from the States were allowed to import a certain quantity of goods, not as articles for sale, but under the head of necessaries. That a merchant, importing goods duty free, should sell them cheaper than merchants who paid legal duties, is matter of no surprise, but this was not the only point of advantage. If an English and an American vessel were to start together, from any port in England, freighted with the same merchandise, purchased at the same price, the one for Quebec, the other for New York, goods of the latter could be offered at the Niagara market, subjected to the payment of equal duties, at a price inferior to those of the former. To prove this,—it is in the first place to be considered that American vessels carry goods for less freight, than English ones, to equal distances. This disadvantage is increased in the present instance, by its requiring one-third more time, on an average, to perform a voyage to Quebec, than to New York. I will then suppose these goods destined for the Niagara river. They are conveyed along the Mohawk river, which joins the Hudson, and arrive after a passage of about 16 days. The goods, landed at Quebec, destined for the Niagara market, must be reloaded, and again, after a passage, probably of 4 days landed again at Montreal. Hence they must be carried 9 miles in carts to Lachine,

at a considerable expense. Here they are loaded in the batteaux for Cataragui, a distance of about 170 or 180 miles, in which interval, there are some carrying places, when the goods must be unloaded, conveyed a certain distance by land, reloaded. Arrived at Cataragui, they are there shipped in vessels, navigating the lake Ontario, in which they are finally transported to Niagara. A slight comparison will shew under what different degrees of difficulty, the goods arrive at market, from Quebec, and New York. A stranger, arriving at Niagara, will be struck with surprise at the prices which many articles are rated at. He is, at first, induced to consider it as the result of imposition. He compares those prices with those of London, or even of Quebec, and they appear high compared with either. He becomes acquainted with the nature of the country, the difficulties and loss under which their market is supplied, and the extraordinary ceases to appear extraordinary. You have already observed, from this reasoning that goods must arrive at Quebec, dearer than at New York, but this difference weighs lightly in the scale, when compared with that under which the respective inland navigations afterwards labor. It is at Montreal that this superior difficulty commences on the side of the British merchant. The difficulties in the different loadings and unloadings I have already enumerated, but the loss is that which compels the Upper Country merchant to impose an extraordinary price, as Upper Canada is entirely dependent on England for every article of manufacture. Those of a brittle and perishable nature are liable to continued loss and damage in their conveyance by land and water, during a carriage of 180 miles, from bad roads, change from one mode of transport to the other, and the taking in water. It is needless to remark to the commercial man that all these losses must be made good by the consumer so that, in fact, the excess of the price of goods at Cataragui or Niagara, beyond the price at Quebec or Montreal is rather to be considered as so much additional principal inevitably expended, than as an exorbitant profit wantonly imposed. These losses and damages are for the most part made good by raising the price of the smaller, and less expensive articles rather than those of higher value. It is principally to be observed in the purchase of knives, buttons, etc., and much less so in that of clothes, and other valuable commodities. I have pursued this explanation for the purpose of showing under what different circumstances, the British and American merchants came to the Niagara market.

I have already observed that the Niagara merchants were startled at this unexpected intrusion. They determined to purchase the remaining part of the American cargo, at his own prices. The competition thus quashed for the present, it became necessary to take immediate steps to ascertain on what ground they stood. It was not doubted, but the report of this quick sale would bring in more American traders, and it was equally certain in that case, for them to transmit any more orders to Montreal or England, for home commodities must eventually be ruinous to them. At a meeting of merchants, it was determined to take the opinion of the only lawyer in the country, namely, the Attorney General. Queries were transmitted to him how far he deemed it legal that the goods of an alien nation should be imported, free of duty, for sale. I did not see his answer, but was informed that the tenor of it was, that the Governor held a dispensing power that authorized it. The question now narrows itself considerably. With what I have premised, full in recollection, there will, I think be little difficulty in deciding this issuable point. Was this dispensing power exercised with discretion? I am here giving full credit to the existence of this power, though previously unknown, nor wish to start any difficulty on that head. I will suppose it in existence. I will suppose it legal. With respect to dispensing powers, (if I form a right judgment), they are ever to be used with the utmost precaution. If, in a period of extreme dearth, a Governor were to open the ports of his Province to the importation of flour, or other articles of extreme necessity, even contrary to law, such a measure would carry along its own acquittal. Such measures have, I believe, been occasionally adopted in the West Indies and yet prudent ministers in England, when they themselves have thus strained authority, though for the public good, have thought it judicious to take shelter, under an act of indemnity. If reasons thus forcible, can be adduced, against establishing a competition, between an alien and a British merchant in the Niagara market, in a case which supposes the imported merchandize, in both cases, to be English manufactures how much will the argument be strengthened, when I mention, that much the greater, and most valuable part of the American cargo alluded to, consisted of East India goods, in which the Americans have an original trade, and which, in consequence of the low state of taxation in their states they must of necessity be enabled to transmit to Upper Canada, with every advantage over the British

trader. Is it to establish such a competition, and in favor of such a traffic, that a dispensing power ought to have been exerted? Had a measure of this kind been adopted, in order to break the spirit of grinding monopoly, I would have been the first to applaud it, but it must be obvious to you from what I have stated, that the necessity of imposing those extraordinary prices, arises from the nature of the inland navigation, and that those prices are injurious to the merchant by preventing that more liberal consumption which would otherwise take place, and which would enable them to convert a part of that excess, which they must now expend, as a dead principal, into a moderate live profit. I have already shewn that the extraordinary prices is to be considered as indemnification and not gain. It is seldom that any public measure passes without comment, or, indeed let its complexion be what it may, without some species of defence. The defence, which was made on this occasion by one connected with the administration of the country, is peculiar in its kind. It was said, that the Governor had been intimate with the Captain of the boat, and received services from him in the course of the American war. An injudicious friend is the worst enemy. The wisdom of nations, as expressed in aphorisms, and maxims, bears testimony to this truth. "This man," says an American sage, speaking of such a friend, "this man has in the warmth of his zeal to serve me done that which the greatest of my enemies in the excess of his enmity could not have devised." The apologist, on this occasion, did not seem to be aware that good offices done to the colonel of a corps were not to be recompensed at the expense of the mercantile interests of Great Britain. It is evident that the good offices alluded to must have been considered as of a public nature. Insanity itself could not have suggested that private obligations were to be thus repaid. It is equally clear that if those public services were rendered, the Captain ought to have looked for remuneration to another quarter. From what I have mentioned, at length, of the different terms on which the American and English merchant came to the Niagara market it must be obvious to you that I lay little stress on the defence of the apologist. I, at the same time assure you that it was the only one I heard brought forward. A prudent friend would have relied on the high price of commodities being the cause of the adoption of this measure. The only question would then have been, was it the general interest of the Empire that aliens should come to the market of Upper Can-

ada, on terms of advantage that must obtain a decided preference. If the defence was whispered on one side complaints assumed a somewhat higher tone on the other. It was said that remonstrances to the British government would be made by the wholesale merchants of Montreal, who were, in most instances, the importers from England. The defence, however, appeared well calculated to counteract any step of this kind implying that it was a concession in favor of the individual, and not a regulation, that was to assume the permanent form of a system,—the single exertion was of little moment,—it was only formidable when regarded in the light of a precedent.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, May 28, 1795.

Dear Sir,

The celebrated cataract of Niagara is justly ranked among the natural wonders of the world. It is distant about 18 miles from the town of Niagara, and is about half way from that place to the entrance on lake Erie. In that country it is emphatically distinguished by the name of The Falls. As you proceed from Niagara, you do not discover them till you approach near. The noise of the descending waters is, however, to be heard at some distance, and their situation perceived at a considerable one, as there is always a cloud impending perpendicularly over them, formed from the mist of the spray, and which is distinguishable, even from that part of lake Ontario, which is adjacent to Niagara. The French missionaries and others, who first published accounts of this cataract, brought forward such as were highly erroneous. They, I believe, mistook feet for yards in estimation of its height? With every degree of diminished expectation, however, which the most philosophic indifference could assume, it will never be beheld, for the first time, without the most awful surprise. Its height is usually estimated at a rude calculation to be 150 feet. More accurate mensuration, they say, reduces it to 144. I believe it will not be necessary for me to remark to you, that you must take both these calculations on the credit of those who made them. Foot rules, compasses, and quadrants of altitude are instru-

ments, to the use of which, Heaven knows I envy not those who are curious in the application of them.

The cataract is divided into *two islands*, on either side of which the waters precipitate themselves over table rocks. Where they fall, may be considered as the commencement of the river Niagara, which however is only navigable to and from The Landing. The body of waters, which falls on the Newark side of the islands, is greater than that which descends on the side of Fort Slautzer, which is opposite. The figure of the rocks on the former side, bears a strong resemblance to the section of an ellipse, cut off transversely, near to the upper cone. In the latter, it is rectilinear. It is difficult to conceive the impetuosity with which waters, which have been pursuing their course from remote lakes, for several hundred miles, must at a sudden narrow, where they are unusually compressed, precipitate themselves into an abyss of 144 feet in depth, to the level of the river. The force with which they arrive here is so great, that they curve in such a manner, as to leave an intervening space between them, and the rocks, in which persons beneath may walk dry, and with safety. The next time I saw this cataract, I proposed to a cottager in the neighborhood, to accompany me in the descent, in order to guide me to this place, but he declined. The blended attack, on various senses, in such a promenade, must have been peculiarly grand. It was then the winter season. When I afterwards visited it, at the commencement of summer, I had no inclination to make the experiment as, in the interim, I had been informed that, in summer, rattlesnakes are frequently met in the path which you must descend. It argues some degree of sagacity in those reptiles to select a situation for basking, in which it is not likely that they will be often disturbed.

Pieces of petrified spray are found at the bottom of the Falls, which strangers preserve as curiosities. They are white in color, and porous, and of light weight.

When a stranger first approaches the edge of the neighboring bank, in order to view the cataract, and the abyss, he generally catches, as it were, though in perfect safety, at some twig or shrub for security. Even the ground he treads on, appears to have acquired somewhat of a tremulous motion. The view of the waters, continuing their course after the descent, in a sheet of foam, here and there broken by impediments, is one of the most picturesque can

be conceived. If the nymph Lodona, when pursued by the god Pan, as Mr. Pope describes, had happened to arrive here, and plunged into this stream, which as a water nymph she could have done with safety, I'll answer for it that Pan would never have thought of following her. I would recommend to any stranger, whose leisure will only permit him to pay one visit to this place, rather to view the cataract from the side of Fort Slautzer, than that of Newark, as he may from thence see the greater fall to most advantage. The waters run in a strong rapid for some distance, before their arrival at the Table rock, but shallow. When a tree, occasionally, gets within the vortex of this current, it is either snapped in two, or sent up in shreds according as it presents itself end foremost, or in a transverse direction on its arrival at the Fall.

Many are the accidents that are reported to have happened here. The most singular is that of an Indian, who paddling in his canoe, got engulfed in the rapid. His efforts, to gain the neighboring bank, were in vain. Finding exertion ineffectual, and that he was hurrying precipitately to the fall, he was seen to take up a bottle of rum, from the bottom of the canoe, and empty its contents,—then very composedly laying himself down at length, and descending the cataract, was never heard of more. Stories, similar to this, are told of other falls, besides that of Niagara, nor are they, on that account, to be rejected as fabulous. Many of them may be true. In America, where cataracts are not uncommon, people, much of whose support depends on fishing, must, in the course of years, have often encountered similar dangers. Intemperance, in the use of rum, probably abated their vigilance, and it was natural in an Indian, when he saw his fate inevitable to make his favorite liquor the means of producing insensibility to the terrors of it.

Mr. Birch, a gentleman who lives near the cataract, has been so much affected by the noise of it, as to be nearly deprived of hearing. An occasional visit to it is highly gratifying, but it must prove a most troublesome neighbor.

At Mr. Birch's, I first saw that very useful piece of machinery, a saw mill worked by water. In such a country, the advantage of a machine, which saves so much bodily labor, is inestimable. They are common in the States of America.

Mr. Birch's mill has not more, if I recollect, than two or three saws, but, in the States, I have been informed, that they are, in some

erections, extended to the number of 14. I cannot describe to you the satisfaction I have experienced in viewing its effects. To behold the facility with which it furnishes man with the means of fencing himself in from the beast of the desert, and the inclemency of the elements, gives rise to the most grateful sensations. The same train of thought associates with this, his progress in laws, religion, and cultivated society. Nothing of the nature of timber can resist the force of this instrument. The hardest knot gives way with the same ease, as that the grain of which is the most simple. The most gnarled oak could not hold out the impediment of a second of time.

You may suppose that in a country like this, where the houses are almost all of wood, that there can be no want of employment for these mills. The continual demand for articles of furniture, by new settlers, and others, renders the employment of carpenters, considered as a mechanical one, very beneficial.

It has often been disputed whether machines, for expediting labor, are, on the whole useful or not. Such questions may be started in old countries, but they are soon decided, if America is taken into the scale of consideration. In the old countries, there is generally an excess of population, for which employment cannot be obtained. If such machines were generally encouraged, this evil might be increased to an alarming extent so as to deprive numbers of the means of obtaining subsistence. It certainly is to be preferred, that manufactures should be purchased at a dearer rate, and even a less degree of perfection, when, in that state, they afford bread to thousands rather than by having them somewhat cheaper and more refined reduce those thousands to hundreds.

The true distinction appears to be between manufactures, which may be considered as staples, or of extensive foreign sale, and those which are more confined to the home market. In the former instance, as in the case of broad cloths and cottons, every abridgment of labor and expense which may enable us, by selling cheap to secure a preference in foreign markets, ought to be encouraged. In the latter, in many cases, it should be otherwise. In England, the erection of saw mills would render much useful industry inactive. In America, the same cause leaves an additional portion of industry free for the most requisite purposes, for felling of timber, agriculture, and the rude manufactures.

Of the places beyond the Cataract, I must write from report. Eighteen miles from thence, you arrive at the entrance of lake Erie, which is navigable, by large vessels, in like manner, as the lake Ontario. The goods, which supply Detroit, which is situated at the distant extremity of it, must pass this sea.

Detroit is said to be distant upwards of 300 miles from Niagara. The climate, in its neighborhood, has many advantages over the parts of Canada I have described, from its greater mildness. Fruits are peculiarly abundant. This settlement is almost entirely inhabited by persons of French extraction, is in point of regularity of buildings, superior to the neighboring one of Niagara, for in this country two or three hundred miles, where there is a water communication, is considered as no great interruption of neighborhood. I was informed, upon good authority that there are 2 or 3 houses at Detroit, which have brass knockers to their doors. If this be so, I am apprehensive that the seat of Government (Niagara), must acknowledge the progress of its neighbor towards refinement, be greater than its own. Minute, as a circumstance of this kind may appear, that mind must have a small bias reflection, that would not deduce consequence from it. It might not be a just consequence to infer that such a town was more opulent than one not furnished in the same manner, but a stranger, who would, from thence, conclude that society was more improved, and conversation on a better footing, would bid fair to be right.

There is always a military body stationed at Detroit. The 24th regiment, under the command of Colonel England, was on duty in 1793.

The next regular settlement in Upper Canada is that of Michilimachinac. It is 300 miles distant from Detroit. This also is a military post. Its principal claim to mention is that it is the last place of any note in the province.

In the month of February, 1793, Governor Simcoe made a progress from Niagara to Detroit, attended by part of his suite. Some of the gentlemen of the settlement attended him, in sleighs, as far as the Grand River, where there is an Indian settlement. It is distant, about 70 miles, from Niagara. Here he became the guest of Captain Brandt, the principal of the Indian chiefs. Hence they continued their course through the woods on foot, a party of savages, detached by this chief, serving as guides. I never could hear what

was the precise object of this expedition, but suppose it to have been the formation of some colonial arrangements in that quarter, which required the Governor's presence, and which it was foreseen that the pressure of public business, the ensuing summer, would not then permit to be personally attended to.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, June 3rd, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Almost all business is transacted at Cataraqui, Niagara, and Detroit, though the medium of paper money. This money consists of small squares of paper or card, on which are printed promissory notes for various sums. These notes are made payable once a year, generally about the latter end of September at Montreal. The name of the merchant or firm is subscribed. These notes are seldom struck off for a greater value than £5, York currency, and thence downwards for all the intermediate integral sums of six pence York, inclusive. The use made of paper money in Upper Canada appears to be a matter of necessity from the want of a sufficient quantity of circulating specie, a want to which most new establishments are liable. It, at the same time, contributes to give vigor to the activity of industry, by enabling men of good character, and small means to trade on more extensive capitals. To prevent, however, the danger which might result from too general an adoption of this plan, no paper money will be received, but such as the merchants agree to take in payment for goods, in which they are necessarily determined by the credit and responsibility of the issuer.

One peculiar advantage arises to the merchants, from the use of this medium, which is, that a large quantity of it wears out, and is lost, and not being presented for payment, the amount is clear gain. An Indian, also, in pursuit of his game would make little difficulty of wadding his fowling piece, if no other materials were at hand, with these notes. From all these causes no inconsiderable annual profit results. The use of this kind of money tends also to encourage a more extensive consumption of commodities. Many persons will

part freely with paper money for the purchase of articles which are not necessities, who, if the payment were to have been made in hard cash, would have declined the expense.

The specie which circulates, consists of half-joes, some guineas, dollars, quarter dollars, English shillings. As to copper money, it is seldom seen.

A half-joe is a Spanish golden coin. Its value, when undiminished is about 40 shillings. In this country, however, it only passes according to its weight, which is generally marked on it. The value of a guinea is the same as in England. A dollar passes for five shillings York, and a quarter dollar, for 15d sterling, or two shillings York. Accounts are kept agreeable to the New York currency, one York pound is equal to twelve shillings and six pence sterling.

The new village of Newark at Niagara, increased in size, during the time I continued in the country. Its being the residence of the Governor was the probable cause of this improvement. As wooden houses are easily constructed, any accidental cause of this kind, secures to the particular district, a preference for the purposes of culture. There is every probability that Newark will continue to rise into notice, even if that advantage ceased, as some persons of property intended to settle in the villgae and its vicinity. At the head of these may be placed Colonel Smith of the 5th regiment, and his family. If a few persons of equal respectability were to form permanent establishments, Upper Canada would soon assume a new appearance. The influence of example would determine many, who are, at present, undecided. The property which now yields a scanty interest, which is expended idly as an annexed income, would then be laid out in improvements, useful to the country, and the descendants of the proprietor. Persons of education, and a certain rank in life are principally deterred from such pursuits by the apprehension of wanting suitable society. A few examples such as I have mentioned would do away this objection. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that such establishments are most suitable for military men, who are previously acquainted with the country,—who are seasoned to its usages, and reconciled to its habits, and intimately acquainted with the general interests. Such men can immediately turn everything to account, without the aid of expensive experience, and if certain local difficulties in navigation are surmounted, their children will perceive

that their fathers have, after years well spent in the service of their country exchanged an iron sword for a golden plough-share.

In the summer of 1793, certain commissioners from the States of America arrived at Newark, with the view of accommodating the difference of their nation with the Indians, under the mediation of Governor Simcoe. They consisted of General Lincoln, Messrs. Randolph and Pickering. After some time, they proceeded to the Miamis village in the Western Country, as the scene of negotiation. It was expected that everything would have been there arranged. However to the great surprise of the country, all parties returned to Newark. It was said that the American commissioners, on being interrogated by the Indian chiefs, whether they were vested with plenipotentiary powers, and replying in the negative, became objects of distrust to the Indians. They suspected that peace was not their object. In consequence of this, they refused to enter on business, unless in the immediate presence of Governor Simcoe, the representative of the great King. It was generally believed that this proposition was far from being disagreeable to the Commissioners, as in the irritated state of mind of the savages, they could not altogether divest themselves of the apprehension of personal danger against which the presence and influence of the Governor was a certain security.

On their return, three councils were held, at which the Governor presided as mediator. These assemblies convened in Freemason's Hall in the beginning of July. Attention was paid to every circumstance that could render them solemn and impressive. A detachment of troops lined the avenue of approach to the Hall, through which the Governor, attended by the principal officers of administration, and his suite, passed to Council. Here he presided, seated at the head of the room with his retinue on one hand, and the American Commissioners on the other. At some distance from these, wooden forms had been placed, parallel to each other, on which the Indian deputies were seated. I cannot be accurate as to their number but there seemed to be about fifty. In the rear, and on the sides of these, such of the inhabitants, as curiosity attracted, had taken their station. In the midst, was placed a table on which were deposited strings and belts of wampum, articles which the Indian ceremonies render indispensable on such occasions. Near this stood the interpreter. Everything proceeded with much order and deliberation.

I did not observe any of the animated gesture or articulation, which some historians have represented, as so essential a part of Indian oratory. Kayne and others appear to me not to have been sufficiently accurate in their inquiries. That figurative language, which is so frequently attributed to them, is no doubt, much indebted for its point and polish to the pen of the European. The latter wished to surprise, surprising indeed it would be, if the fancy of the savage, chilled with penury, could present effusions worthy of absolute eulogium. It is among the difficult tasks of a mature judgment, improved by education, to bring forth a continued allegory, just in all its parts. Abortive effervescences of fancy, no doubt occasionally arise in the Savage mind, but a knowledge of rhetoric alone can mould the antithesis. The savage may declare his inclination for peace by talking of "burying the hatchet." He may menace hostilities, on the contrary by expressing his design of "digging up the hatchet." Such figurative expressions are within the attainment of the savage conception. They are obvious, and terminate in a single idea. Beyond these, and such like reports of the allusive oratory of the Indians should be received with caution.

When I mentioned that Indian eloquence did not rise in these councils to the degree of animation books would have taught me to expect, it is by no means conclusive that such is the uniform temper, with which the sentiments are delivered. In conferences with those who understand their language where no medium of communication is requisite, strong sensibility may be displayed, but where an interpreter of necessity intervenes, oratory, of course, assumes a lower tone, sensible as the orator must be that matter only, and not the fire of elocution will be transmitted. Possibly also the prudence of the Governor had caused it to be previously intimated to the Chiefs, that when he sat as mediator, respect to him required a guarded circumspection.

The Indians have many ceremonies which are to be attended to in the course of these assemblies. When they wish, from any cause, to adjourn they say that it is "time to cover up the Council fire."

Nothing decisive resulted from these councils. The prospect of peace, between the contending parties, remained equally distant as before. When I visited the States a few months after, many of the Americans, with whom I conversed, attributed the non-adjustment of differences to Governor Simcoe, who, they seemed to think, had, underhand, fomented the dissension. This opinion I sedulously opposed

from a persuasion that it was unfounded, and that should it become prevalent, it might, in the then critical situation of affairs, give an undue ascendancy to those who favored the French interest, and wished to promote a rupture with England. Indeed, so unreasonable was this surmise, that I can assure you with sincerity, I never heard such an opinion once started at Niagara. From the numbers who were at that time present, such a rumor, had there been any basis for it, would not have wanted circulation. Whatever bias to the Indian interest the English have since manifested, has every appearance of originating subsequent to that period.

The novelty of an Indian Council is a circumstance that renders it as a sight interesting to a stranger. The dress and appearance of the deputies were peculiarly fantastic. Their faces, in general, were rubbed over with some stuff that in colour bore a resemblance to birch dust, and with this they were *rouged*, more or less according to fancy. Feathers ornamented their heads. Their vests were of various materials, and indeed so singularly decorated as to baffle description. Many of them had circles of tin, or plated metal on their arms. Their effect was rather pleasing. In general, the lower parts of the body were dressed, in what are called in that country *ligons*, or overalls of cloth, which cover both the legs and thighs.

Captain Brandt, who was at the head of this deputation, is the principal of the Indian chiefs. I have met him at different times in private companies, and found him shrewd, sensible, and intelligent. He speaks English well, and with fluency. His opportunities, in life, however, have been so peculiar, as to give him considerable advantages over his countrymen. Among them, the one most to be noted, is his having in the early part of his life, been educated for some time in an American college. During the American war, this chief was much countenanced by men of rank in the British army. They invited him to England. During his residence here he was presented to his Majesty, and honorably noticed. He returned to Canada after receiving presents from his great friends. Such distinguished favor obtained him a marked pre-eminence among his countrymen, and confirmed it. He appears to dwell with pleasure on his reception in England, and will, occasionally, repeat parts of conversations he had held with some of our most illustrious characters. His deportment, at table is perfectly that of a gentleman, and I have seen many instances, where his manners and address, from their correctness

and suavity, were entitled to peculiar regard. It appears to me to be unfair to object to him a few excesses into which he was on the point of entering, when inebriated with wine. Those who expect that human nature can be thus easily changed, ought themselves to be models of perfection. The true point of prudence in my opinion would have substituted other convivial pleasures, before the seat of reason was disturbed by intemperance.

Captain Brandt is a man of the middle size, and appears, in age, to be bordering on fifty, but hale, vigorous and active. His countenance is far from prepossessing. It may, however, be a trait in high repute among his tribe, that it is calculated to strike terror into his enemies.

I once slept in the same room with him, at the house of a gentleman at The Landing. It was on his return from the Miamis, previous to holding the councils at Niagara. We had much conversation in the early part of the night, which confirmed the opinion I had previously entertained, of the strength of his mind, and the culture of his understanding.

Captain Brandt had a sister at Cataraqui, who was known by the name of Miss Molly. Sir William Johnson left some children by this squaw, with whom he cohabited for many years. They are, I believe with the exception of one son, all daughters. Sir William bequeathed handsome fortunes to the whole family. The Miss Johnsons are married respectably in the country. It is with regret, I have heard, since my return to England, of the death of the eldest, Mrs. Kerr, the lady of doctor Kerr, for many minute attentions, which, in colonial life, are highly valuable to the passing, or unsettled stranger, I have now to lament that, from this event, I must ever remain indebted.

In the winter season, nothing is more ardently wished for, by young persons of both sexes, in Upper Canada, than the setting in of the frost, accompanied by a fall of snow. Then it is, that pleasure commences her reign. The sleighs are drawn out. Visits are paid, and returned, in all directions. Neither cold, distance, or badness of roads prove any impediment. The sleighs glide over all obstacles. It would excite surprise in a stranger to view the open before the Governor's House on a levée morning, filled with these carriages. A sleigh would not probably make any great figure in Bond street, whose silken sons and daughters would probably mistake it for a turnip

cart, but in the Canadas, it is the means of pleasure, and glowing healthful exercise. An overturn is nothing. It contributes subject matter for conversation at the next house that is visited, when a pleasant raillery often arises on the derangement of dress, which the ladies have sustained, and the more than usual display of graces, which the tumble has occasioned.

The sleigh, I believe, is a carriage in general use, in most of the northern parts of Europe, where the winters are long and severe.

The winter of 1792-93 was considered as unusually mild in Canada. The Indians said that they remembered but few that had been so mild. We had, however, some nipping days. What a proper specimen of a Canadian winter may be, I know not, but of this I can assure you that notwithstanding, I never permitted my fire to be out day or night. I have found things, in the room, which got wet by accident, frozen in the morning.

The persons of greatest weight, in the Canadas, are the merchants, or storekeepers. Among these, the gentlemen from Scotland take a decided lead. I have been informed that they have the same ascendancy in the West Indies. They are sent out at any early period of life from Scotland, and, by the time they arrive at manhood, are perfectly conversant in a knowledge of the country. If superior industry and activity are grounds of pretension to affluence, I know no men whose claims are equal to those of the Scotch. Some comparative experience authorizes me to say this much. Many of them distinguished themselves by a frank hospitality, in accepting which you did not find conversation the least desirable part of the entertainment. Its ingredients were strong, natural, good sense, seasoned with some literary resource.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

(No date).

Dear Sir,

I left Niagara in the close of July, 1793. The weather was then, as it had been through the summer, intensely hot.

The great number of midges which abound, at this season, prove a very serious grievance. It is scarcely possible to exclude them even from your bed. On rising in a morning, I have frequently found my

legs covered with great bumps from the sting of these insects. They are particularly troublesome in the woods, and where there is under-wood near standing water.

Nothing particular occurred in repassing the Lake Ontario to Cataraqui, where we arrived, after a passage of 40 hours in the Sophia gunboat. The same evening, accompanied by a gentleman from Niagara, and two others from Detroit, I embarked in a batteau for Montreal. Nothing can be conceived more picturesque than the views which occur on this passage. All that ever novel or romance have described is here realized. The eye, at length, grows sated with prospect. The wish strongly recurs of arriving at the place of destination. However, nature in her most wanton mood may vary the form of wood and water, it is society, and good society alone, which can afford permanent pleasure.

Having already written relative to this navigation, I have little to add. The rapid, called the Long Sault, is, next to the Cascades which I have already described, that which is best worth attention. It is a narrow pass, where the waters are suddenly contracted, and issue through with most extraordinary noise and violence, boiling up, and agitated the waves appear ready to break in on every part of the batteau. The rapidity of the motion is inconceivable. When we were on the point of entering this rapid, a passenger, from Detroit, seized with a sudden apprehension, sprung up in the batteau, offering a reward to the men to put him ashore, at the same time destroying the trim of the boat by putting his foot on the gunwale. A general outcry ensued, accompanied with menaces, calling on this man to sit down. In our situation, such a step might have cost us our lives. It must be an intrepid heart that could pass through this strait, for the first time, without some degree of terror, particularly if there is anything like a pointed antipathy to that mode of death, called drowning in the case.

The batteau men were French Canadians returning from Detroit to Montreal. They had been absent, at the former place for some years, and though accustomed to the navigation of this water, had, from absence, forgotten it. In the course of the following night, our escape was, indeed, most providential. Arriving at that part of the river where 90 men, in batteaux, under the command of Lord Amherst were lost, the war before last, the current was carrying us with velocity to the entrance of a rapid. We were all extended on,

mattresses, covered up with blankets for the night, when fortunately Mr. McKay, the Niagara merchant, happening to raise himself in the batteau, thought, on looking round, that the pilot was taking a wrong direction. On arrival at this part an island intervenes, on either side of which the waters pass and join again at the further extremity. On the left hand, the passage can be made with safety, but, on the right, it is obstructed with so many rocks, that destruction would be inevitable. When Mr. McKay remonstrated with the pilot, he was guiding us straight into the latter. He insisted that he knew the way, and was certain of being in the proper track. Mr. McKay was, every instant, more confirmed in his opinion, and the pilot, with that petulant obstinacy which is so peculiar to the lower class of the French, was equally tenacious of his. Roused by the dispute, the other passengers got up, and relying on Mr. McKay's judgment, insisted on the pilot's obeying his (Mr. McK's) instructions. After pulling hard against the current, we gained a bank, and fastening the batteau securely to a tree, we reposed till morn. The first light of day presented us with a prospect that convinced us of the danger we had escaped, the Frenchman of his obstinacy, and all in general how much we were indebted to the knowledge and resolution of Mr. McKay.

We arrived the same day in safety at Montreal.

Nothing particular had occurred, since my leaving this the November before, except the arrival of the spring fleet from England which was detained longer than usual from the necessity of waiting for convoy.

Those who wish to return immediately to Europe generally sail from this place or Quebec. Those who intend, for the United States of America, pass the river from Montreal to Laprairie, which is here a few miles over.

From Laprairie, it is necessary to proceed by land to St. Johns, where boats may be hired to cross Lake Champlain, at the extremity of which is Skeensboro.

After leaving St. Johns there is a British post at the Isle-aux-Noix, where there is a small party of our men. Proceeding onward to the lake, boats are, at some distance from thence, brought to by a British armed vessel, in order to examine their cargos and destination. The line of demarcation between the British and American

possessions is drawn at this place. Proceeding forward, the traveller is to consider himself as being within the boundaries of the State of Vermont.

The man, who leaves the seat of the British Empire to settle in a province or appendage to which its constitution is extended, will be disappointed, if he looks for the same security of rights, or freedom from oppression, as in the Mother Country. This probably is a defect inherent in the nature of things, but a defect it certainly is and this defect becomes aggravated in proportion to the smallness of the society, the want of affluence in the inhabitants, and the distance from the Mother country. Where there is a small number of inhabitants there is the greatest inducement to overstrain authority, and the least ability to resist it. It is in union only that men feel their strength, and the most constitutional union may be overborne, when it is very limited, and therefore feeble. Want of affluence in like manner renders the best laws frequently useless. It is to be regretted that those who are poor are often obliged in civil cases to relinquish the best founded right from inability to assert them, and distance from home will often be found a strong shield of defence, to those who have abused authority.

Independent of these causes, there is another to be assigned, namely the difficulty of meeting with juries that can come perfectly indifferent to the judgment seat. The members, who compose a jury may be men of strict integrity, but, in very limited societies, it is next to impossible that they should not have some bias on their minds, even unknown to themselves, and, in many instances, that they should not have formed prejudgments on the merits of a cause.

Men of sense acquainted with the world, will not expect to find, in a new colony, the same regularity in the administration of justice as at home. He will allow that many rights must remain vague, and indefinite for a period, and that time must be given, before things can mould themselves into form. He will not look for the learning of an English judge in a Canadian one, but he will not dispense with the want of his integrity. He will not require him to know the depths of special pleading but he will rigidly exact candid impartiality in a charge to a jury. It is not to be expected that no influence will be sought after, but that which results from the ascendancy of political virtue, but it might be expected that the dignity of a judge would not be degraded by descending to check the cur-

rent of private opinion, on the merits of a judicial case, by personal reproof. It might be expected in Canada, as in England, that, in judicial cases, a judge should have neither eye, ear, nor voice beyond the limits of his courts. Finally, it might be expected that where laws were so plain and simple that he who runs might read,—they should not be twisted into perplexity.

The Canadas are not countries of whose cabinets or muses you can expect to hear. Attached as we both are to the charms of painting and sculpture, I cannot give, nor you receive, accounts of things which are not in existence. Man, himself, is here but roughly hewn from the block, and it will be a long period before this country can produce excellence in arts, which are only of modern cultivation at home.

The Canadas may long be rendered useful to England, but let a British administration beware of carrying into effect a measure which the law for the regulation of the province has provided for. I mean the establishment of an order of nobility. Such a step would only accelerate an event which must one day take place,—the separation of the Canadas from England. The sagacity of future ministers, (may they live at a distant period), will be usefully engaged in estimating that portion of population, which, uniting with the proximity of such neighbours as the Americans, will render it requisite for the Canadians to be permitted to set up for themselves. Whenever this event takes place, instructed as we have been by the past, sound policy will dictate to separate with a good grace. A dam of paste-board would prove as effectual a barrier against a mountain torrent, as the influence of nobility in such a country to impede this necessary consequence.

Such, my friend, is my account of the Canadas. In the course of a century, the Upper Province may become a fruitful source of history. In its present state of population, should you wander a mile from a settlement, the face of man can hardly be viewed without an emotion of surprise, and every cultivated patch of ground is to be regarded as a trophy of his triumph over the desert.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

THE END.

The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal

Published Quarterly by the
Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal
Chateau de Ramezay



Third Series

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4

Vol. X

1913



C. A. MARCHAND
Printer to the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society
40 Jacques Cartier Square, Montreal

1913

CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

Third Series	Vol. X	1913
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THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

4th Series. Vol. X.

JANUARY, 1913

No. 1

LES COMPAGNONS DE DOLLARD DES
ORMEAUX

Par E.-Z. MASSICOTTE

NOTE:—It is again our rare pleasure and privilege to be the means whereby valuable historical data now lying buried in our Archives may be brought to light and given publication. In tendering his present contribution, Mr. Massicotte disclaims the intention of his fragmentary articles to be in any sense "a definitive work", regarding them rather as contributory thereto, when such a volume may be undertaken by some sympathetic and qualified writer.

There can be no question, however, that it is to such "materials", hitherto presented and to follow, which Mr. Massicotte has with such solicitous and exact care assembled and so characterizes, that the future historian must look for the basic facts upon which an imposing superstructure will one day be reared.—EDITOR.

I



LES NOTES et documents relatifs à Dollard, publiés dans cette revue, l'an dernier, ayant été favorablement accueillis, nous croyons devoir les faire suivre des renseignements menus que nous avons pu grouper sur les compagnons de l'héroïque commandant.

Notre présent article comprend un relevé sommaire de certains petits détails; l'étude d'une assertion; des notes biographiques et, enfin, la transcription littérale de quelques documents.

II

Au mois d'avril 1660, Dollard des Ormeaux conçoit le projet d'aller porter la guerre à l'ennemi au-dessus de Montréal, "ce qu'on n'avait point encore tenté." (1)

Il en reçoit la permission du gouverneur de l'île et embauche un certain nombre de jeunes gens. M. Dollier parle de 15 ou 16, au premier

(1) Dollier de Casson.—Histoire du Montréal, 1868, p. 143. Sans faire de rapprochement, on peut noter que deux ans auparavant, Chouart et Radisson passaient à Montréal, en route pour les grands lacs. Cette expédition se fit tuer 13 hommes et plusieurs de ceux qui la composaient rebroussèrent chemin. V. Dionne, *Chouart & Radisson*, p. 49.

départ, puis d'un dix-septième, au second. Or il meurt trois personnes le 19 avril, et ils étaient 17 au Long Sault; la troupe devait donc se composer, tout d'abord, de 19 volontaires, ou bien, suivant l'hypothèse de l'abbé Faillon, Dollard s'adjoignit trois nouveaux combattants la seconde fois.

C'est le jeune commandant qui semble faire la plus grande partie des frais de l'expédition, sinon tous, puisqu'il emprunte, quatre jours avant son départ, la somme de 48 livres de Jean Aubuchon. C'est, probablement, aussi vers le même temps qu'il obtient la somme de 30 livres du chirurgien Chartier et une autre somme du notaire Basset.(2).

Le but de ces braves, suivant M. de Casson était de "faire quelque coup de main"(3); suivant l'abbé Faillon d'aller à la rencontre de l'armée de barbares qui voulaient annihiler les Français du Canada(4) et, suivant le testament de Valets, reproduit plus loin, intégralement : "de courir sur les petites bandes iroquoises"; ce qui laisserait supposer qu'ils partaient faire ce qu'on nommerait, aujourd'hui, une guerre d'escarmouches ou de guérillas.

(2) Voir *L'Antiquarian* de 1911, p. 55.

(3) *Histoire du Montréal*, p. 143.

(4) *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, II, 397.

Quoiqu'il en soit, l'entreprise est hasardeuse et ceux qui y prennent part "font le pacte de ne pas demander quartier", se confessent, communient et, ajoute M. de Casson, décident "tous de faire leur testament."

Le 19 avril, nos braves se mettent en route.

L'expédition est à peine rendue à une île que l'abbé Faillon croit être l'île Saint-Paul, qu'elle vient en contact avec une bande iroquoise. Après un court engagement, l'ennemi s'enfuit, mais Duval est tué, puis Juillet et Soulard se noient accidentellement, en voulant échapper aux Iroquois. (5)

L'abbé de Casson n'indique pas la cause de l'accident; mais s'inspirant d'un autre passage de cet historien, l'abbé Faillon conjecture que Juillet et Soulard durent leur trépas à leur inhabileté.

Cela nous semble difficile à admettre pour Juillet, et nous en parlons à sa notice.

Dollard revient à Montréal avec les dépouilles de l'ennemi et repart aussitôt.

M. Dollier dit que l'expédition est arrêtée pendant huit jours à Sainte-Anne du Bout de l'île... "par un petit rapide," et c'est ici qu'il attribue le délai à leur manque d'expérience dans l'art de ramer.

(5) Histoire du Montréal (1868). Note de M. J. Viger, p. 144.

Ne serait-ce pas, plutôt, la crue des eaux, les glaces, une divergence d'opinion entre les Français et les Sauvages de la troupe, etc., qui auraient occasionné ce retard?

Le combat, parfaitement décrit par l'abbé Faillon, eut lieu le 25 ou le 26 mai, selon l'abbé Dollier qui se base, sans doute, sur l'acte de décès, mais c'est une erreur, puisque, le 25 de mai, l'autorité procédait déjà, à Montréal, à l'inventaire des biens de Boisseau, et, le 26, à ceux de Valets et de Doussin. (6)

Les abbés de Belmont et Faillon ont adopté, avec raison, la date du 21 mai, qui est beaucoup plus vraisemblable.

La colonie montréalaise fut un certain temps sans connaître l'étendue exacte du désastre, puisque, après coup, on ajouta, en marge de l'acte de décès que Robert Jurie avait réussi à s'échapper et qu'il avait gagné la France, ce que l'on sut plus tard être faux.

(6) Comment expliquer que l'abbé Souart a pu écrire, le 3 juin, que le combat avait eu lieu 8 jours auparavant, alors que rien de ce qui se passait dans Montréal, grand comme un hameau, ne pouvait lui échapper? Les mots "8 jours" ne seraient-ils pas mis ici pour une période de temps indéterminée?

III

C'est à l'abbé de Casson que nous devons l'assertion qu'ils "firent tous leur testament", et comme elle est très plausible, on l'a généralement acceptée. Cependant, il faut noter qu'il écrit vers 1673, soit treize ans après l'événement et que le greffe de Villemarie, ainsi qu'on le verra bientôt, n'était probablement pas en état de l'éclairer, si tant est qu'il ait songé à cette source d'informations, chose douteuse, car il paraît plutôt s'en tenir à la tradition.

Prenons, toutefois, son assertion à la lettre.

Etant donné que 20 personnes ont fait partie de cette expédition, il a dû exister 20 testaments.

Eh bien ! malgré les recherches ardues auxquelles les historiens, grands et petits, se sont livrés depuis un demi siècle et plus, on ne connaît que deux testaments.

Comment, autant d'actes sous seing privé ou notariés, auraient-ils pu disparaître ?

Nous sommes certains que *cinq* des braves du Long-Sault savaient écrire et signer, or, à l'exception de celui de Tavernier, en date du 17 avril, aucun testament olographe n'a été retrouvé.

Six autres de ces braves déclarent dans des pièces publiques qu'ils ne savent signer et sur les

neuf derniers nous ne sommes pas renseignés relativement à leur *science calligraphique*. En supposant que cinq de ces neuf ignoraient l'art d'écrire, ce qui n'est pas exagéré (7), Basset, le seul notaire à Montréal, aurait dû rédiger onze testaments... et il n'y en a qu'un seul dans son étude: celui de Valets, en date du 18 avril.

Plus que cela, c'est le seul que ce même Basset mentionne dans le registre des "minutes du tabellionnage" qu'il dresse en 1674!

Basset, avouons-le, ne fut pas un modèle d'ordre: on en trouve la preuve dans ses démêlés avec les seigneurs et le juge civil et criminel de Montréal, qui lui reprochaient de ne pas prendre soin des documents du greffe de la seigneurie. (8)

Nous n'ignorons pas, non plus, qu'il n'a pas énuméré tous ses actes, dans le registre de 1674, car étant à faire le répertoire de son étude, nous constatons plusieurs omissions, toutefois, il faut lui rendre ce témoignage, il n'a jamais oublié une telle quantité d'actes du même quantième! (9)

(7) Si l'on scrute les contrats d'engagements de 1653, on apercevait que six d'entre eux n'ont pas signé à ces contrats.

(8) Archives du Séminaire, 7 mars 1674.

(9) En effet, Basset semble avoir inscrit dans le registre du tabellionnage, presque tous les actes qu'il a fait de 1657 à 1663, comme notaire, greffier, arpenteur, etc. Par la suite il cesse petit à petit d'y insérer ses actes notariés.

L'abbé Ferland est le seul auteur qui laisse *presque* entendre qu'il aurait vu le plus précieux de ces testaments, celui de Dollard, mais il détruit toute confiance dans son assertion, en disant que le testateur aurait signé *Daulard*, ce qui est en contradiction absolue avec toutes les autres pièces publiques connues, notamment avec le billet que Dollard remet à Aubuchon, le 15 avril 1660.

D'ailleurs, vers l'époque où l'abbé Ferland préparait son *Cours d'histoire*, l'abbé Faillon, avec son armée de secrétaires, exécutait des fouilles dans les archives du district de Montréal et ne trouvait que les testaments de Valets et de Tavernier (10), car il serait absurde de penser qu'il aurait passé celui de Dollard sous silence s'il l'avait tenu dans ses mains.

Ce testament de Valets acquiert, aujourd'hui, une importance singulière par l'usage qu'on en a fait.

Contrairement, à ce que plusieurs ont cru jusqu'à nos jours, l'abbé Faillon n'en donne que la substance et l'on ne reconnaîtrait pas le document en question s'il n'avait eu la précaution de l'indiquer, suivant sa louable habitude.

(10) Il ne cite pas celui de Tavernier, à cause de sa rédaction défectueuse, sans doute, mais la manière en laquelle il parle de ses sentiments religieux (voir plus loin, les notes concernant Tavernier), indique bien qu'il avait lu ses dernières dispositions.

Relisons ce passage :

“Nous avons sous les yeux le testament d'un de ces héros chrétiens, dicté par lui-même, au notaire public de Villemarie, la veille même du départ, 18 avril 1660. Il y déclare que : “Désirant aller en partie de guerre, avec le sieur Dollard, pour courir sur les Iroquois, et ne sachant comment il plaira à Dieu de disposer de sa personne dans ce voyage, il institue, en cas qu'il vienne à périr, un héritier universel de tous ses biens, à la charge seulement de faire célébrer, dans la paroisse de Villemarie, quatre grand's-messes et d'autres pour le repos de son âme.” (*Greffe de Villemarie. Actes de Basset, 18 avril 1660. Testament de Jean Vallets*). (Faillon, H. de la C. F. II, 414).

Si, maintenant, vous voulez bien comparer avec la transcription exacte et entière que nous donnons de cette pièce, en plus de son fac-simile, à la fin de cette étude, vous noterez d'abord, qu'au lieu de “courir sur les Iroquois”, il faut lire “cour (sic) sur les petites bandes hiroquoises” et plus loin, au lieu “de sa personne en ce voyage”, il faut lire : “de sa personne en ce dit voyage et d'autres”... et plus loin, encore, au lieu de “quatre grand's-messes et d'autres”, il faut lire : “quatre grandes messes hautes”.(11).

(11) Si bizarre qu'elle soit, cette dernière expression se rencontre dans d'autres pièces.

On le voit, l'abbé Faillon n'a pas cité un texte, ce n'est qu'un résumé d'où sont exclus des mots essentiels, peut-être, pour la compréhension exacte de l'idée que le testateur se faisait de l'expédition dans laquelle il s'engageait.

Néanmoins, ce résumé nous permet de démontrer que d'autres historiens qui font allusion aux testaments de Dollard et ses compagnons comme s'ils les avaient eus sous les yeux, n'ont fait que copier ce que vous venez de lire.

Le très estimable et intéressant abbé Rousseau, par exemple, reproduit l'extrait d'un testament sans dire lequel, et on croirait qu'il le transcrit, mais c'est, à n'en pas douter, dans Faillon qu'il puise : cela se constate par les omissions et les erreurs de lecture que nous venons de signaler.

Voici le passage en question :

"Ayant ainsi réglé avec le ciel, ils (Dollard et ses compagnons) voulurent aussi régler leurs affaires d'ici-bas, et l'on peut voir au greffe de cette ville le testament à peu près uniforme de ces héros chrétiens rédigés par maître Benigne Rasser (sic) (12), notaire public, sous la date du 18 avril 1660.

"Désirant aller en parti de guerre avec le sieur Dollard, pour courir sus aux Iroquois et ne sa-

(12) Simple coquille.

chant comment il plaira à Dieu de disposer de ma personne dans ce voyage, j'institue—en cas que je vienne à périr—un tel héritier universel à tous mes biens, à la charge seulement de faire célébrer dans la paroisse de Villemarie, quatre grand'messes et d'autres pour le repos de mon âme." (Rousseau, Histoire de la vie de M. Paul de Chomedey, Sr de Maisonneuve, p. 152).

N'est-il pas évident qu'il s'est contenté du texte de l'abbé Faillon, et qu'il n'a, tout au plus, que changé "sur les Iroquois", par "sus aux Iroquois" et mis le prénom à la première personne?

S'il était venu au greffe il n'aurait pas été aussi positif.

Passons à Mgr Tanguay:

"Nous avons, dit-il, retrouvé dans les minutes du greffe de Montréal, le testament de la plupart de ces braves, passé le 16 (sic) avril 1660. Une clause entre autres se lit comme suit:

"Désirant aller en parti de guerre avec le sieur Dollard pour courir sur les Iroquois et ne sachant comment il plaira à Dieu de disposer de ma personne dans ce voyage, j'institue, en cas de mort, un héritier universel de tous mes biens, à la charge de faire célébrer, dans la paroisse de Villemarie, quatre grandes messes et d'autres pour le repos de son âme." (Tanguay, *Mémoire de la Société Royale*, 1e S. I, 45).

C'est avec de légères variantes: "sur les Iroquois" et "en cas de mort" le texte de l'abbé Rousseau ou celui de l'abbé Faillon.

Mgr Tanguay ne semble donc, pas plus que les autres, avoir "retrouvé les testaments" qui nous occupent; en outre, il commet, dans son récit, trois petites erreurs: le testament qu'il cite n'est pas du 16 avril, il donne à Doussin le prénom d'Etienne, et pour lui Grenet devient Guenet.

En fin de compte, ces testaments, s'ils ont existés, ne sont pas *tous* de la même date, ils n'ont pas *tous* été dressés par Basset et il est improbable qu'ils aient *tous* été déposés au greffe de Montréal, car, dans ce cas, un plus grand nombre de ces pièces nous auraient été conservées.

Ne pourrait-on pas supposer que certains d'entre ces jeunes gens, se sont contentés de donner leur peu de biens verbalement? ou encore, sans amoindrir leur héroïsme, que ne s'en allant pas à une mort inévitable, ils aient jugé inutile de déranger le tabellion de la seigneurie? Cette dernière hypothèse pourrait se soutenir par le texte intégral des testaments de Vallets et de Tavernier et par le billet promissoire que Dollard fait, le 15 avril, "payable à son retour."

IV

La seule liste des noms de ceux qui ont pris part à cet événement prodigieux, se trouve dans l'acte de l'abbé Souart à qui le pays, de ce chef, doit une reconnaissance éternelle.

Cette page, du modeste registre de l'état civil de Villemarie, a une si grande valeur qu'on nous pardonnera de la reproduire encore une fois en lui adjoignant une transcription fidèle.

En disséquant les renseignements que cet acte contient, ainsi que ceux que nous avons rassemblés, nous obtenons les petits tableaux suivants :

Age

21 ans : Martin ;	26 ans : Augier et Lecompte ;
23 ans : Boisseau ;	27 ans : Hébert, Robin et Valets ;
24 ans : Crusson, Jurie ;	28 ans : Tavernier ;
25 ans : Brassier, Grenet, Josselin, Dollard et Tiblemont ;	30 ans : Doussin ;
	31 ans : Delestres ;

Age inconnu : Duval, Juillet et Soulard.

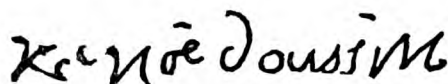
Instruction

Savent signer : Dollard, Delestres, Doussin, Josselin et Tavernier.

Ne savent point signer : Grenet, Juillet, Jurie, Lecompte, Martin et Valets.



Signature d'Adam Dollard Sr Des Ormeaux. Il ne signe ainsi qu'une fois. D'ordinaire il signe *Dollard*, simplement.



Signature de René Doussin.



Signature de Jean Tavernier.

Sur les cinq héros du Long-Sault qui sa-
vaient signer, on ne trouve les signatures
que des trois ci-dessus.

Sur les neuf autres nous ne connaissons rien à se sujet, sauf que six d'entre eux ne semblent pas avoir signé leurs contrats d'engagement, en 1653.

Dates de leur arrivée à Montréal

1647 ou plus tôt: Blaise Juillet.

1653: Brassier, Crusson, Doussin, Duval, Joselin, Lecompte, Robin, Tavernier et Valets.

1658 ou plus tôt: Augier, Boisseau, Delestres, Dollard, Grenet, Hébert, Jurie, Martin, Soulard et Tiblemont.

Nous mettons: 1658 ou plus tôt, parce que dans la liste manuscrite de la recrue de 1659, conservée au Séminaire de Montréal, aucun de ces noms ne figure.

Enfin, un seul était marié: Blaise Juillet.

Venons-en, maintenant, aux notes biographiques.

V

Augier dit Desjardins

Prénom: Christophe; âge: 26 ans.

Nul autre renseignement. Tanguay, Dictionnaire généalogique I, 18, le nomme Augé et à la page 197, Augier. Il n'y a aucune raison pour modifier l'orthographe de l'acte de décès.

Boisseau dit Cognac

Prénom: Jacques; âge: 23 ans.

Basset fait l'inventaire de ses biens le 25 mai 1660. Cet acte débute ainsi: "Inventaire des biens meubles appartenant a deffunt Jacques Boisseau dit Cognac, trouvez en la maison et possession de Fiacre Ducharne dit la Fontaine(13)...en la présence de Lambert Closse"... Il n'y a que trois items: "Un meschant matelas estimé 50 sols; deux chapeaux estimés 30 sols et une paire de mitaines de castor", non estimée.

Au chapitre des dettes, on constate qu'il doit 15 livres à Louis Chartier, chirurgien; 7 livres, 18 sols à l'abbé D. Galinier et 30 sols à Jean Milot.

La vente eut lieu, un an plus tard, le 19 avril 1661.

Une "très meschante paire de raquettes" qui ne figure pas dans l'inventaire est vendue 46 sols à Simon Le Roy et le matelas offert à 40 sols ne trouve pas acheteur.

Brassier

Prénom: Jacques; âge: 25 ans.

Le seul renseignement qu'on possède sur son

(13) A remarquer que Basset écrit toujours Ducharne, jamais Ducharme.

compte est la note suivante: "Etant à la rade de Saint-Nazaire, pour mettre à la voile avec M. de Maisonneuve, il déclara, le 20 juin 1653, en présence du notaire Belliotte, avoir reçu de la Compagnie de Montréal, 27 livres en avancement de ses gages"... Il avait environ 18 ans lorsqu'il partit de France avec la recrue de 1653 (Faillon, *Hist. de la Col. Franc.*, II, 536).

Crusson dit Pilote

Prénom: François; âge: 24 ans.

Voici tout ce que l'on sait de lui:

"On ignore le nom de son pays... Avant de quitter la rade de Saint-Nazaire, il déclara le 20 juin 1653, en présence du notaire Belliotte, avoir reçu sur ses gages, 60 livres de la Compagnie de Montréal." Il avait 17 ans lors de son engagement. (Faillon, *ib.* II, 538).

Delestres

Prénom: Alonié; âge: 31 ans; profession: **chaufournier.**

Il est présent au contrat de mariage de Marin Heurtebise et d'Estiennette Alton (Basset, 9 décembre 1659), et il devait signer, mais l'acte est détérioré; quelques signatures sont à peine vi-

sibles et une autre, probablement la sienne, a été découpée.

Dans cet acte Basset le nomme Allonee Delaistre.

Doussin

Prénom : René ; âge : 30 ans ; profession : meunier et soldat.

Voici ce qu'on lit au sujet de son arrivée : "On ne connaît... pas le nom de son pays... Il faisait, néanmoins partie de la recrue de 1653 et, étant sur le navire, il déclara devant le notaire Belliotte avoir reçu 119 livres de la Compagnie de Montréal, en avancement de ses gages... Il avait alors 23 ans. (Faillon, ib. II, 541)

A la page 416, du même volume, l'abbé Faillon le nomme Doussin, Sieur de Ste-Cécile.

Dans le "Registre des Minutes du tabellionage de Montréal", à l'intitulé de l'inventaire des biens meubles de defunt Louis Biteaux dit St-Amant, (Basset, 19 février 1658), il apparaît qu'il avait existé autrefois, avec ce document, une pièce qui n'a pas été retrouvée et qui est décrite ainsi : "Ensemble, un acte de société fait entre led. Biteaux et René Doussin, le 25 septembre 1656."

A partir de 1658, il est présent plusieurs fois dans les actes de Basset.

Le 10 janvier 1658 (Basset), il cesse de faire partie d'une société pour opérer les moulins de l'île et dont les autres membres étaient Michel Lonnard et Louis Biteaux, meuniers.

Le 19 février 1658, à l'inventaire des biens de Biteaux, on voit que le défunt devait 10 livres à Doussin. Celui-ci est présent et signe Doussein. C'est la seule fois qu'il orthographie son nom de cette manière.

Le 13 novembre 1658 (Basset), Bertrand de Rennes lui cède les droits et actions qu'il a sur trois arpents de terre acquis d'Honoré Langlois. Le cédant s'oblige d'en rendre deux arpents labourables à la charrue aux semences prochaines. Dollard est présent.

Le 20 novembre, Doussin paye 106 livres 15 sols à de Rennes qui lui en donne quittance en présence de Dollard.

Le même jour, Doussin cède la moitié de son acquisition à François Piron dit la Vallée.

Le 18 mars 1659 (Basset), Doussin et Piron vendent les trois arpents de terre sus mentionnés au caporal Pierre Raguideau, Sieur de Saint-Germain. C'est dans cet acte, qu'en qualité de témoin, Dollard signe: Desormeaux Dollard.

Le 23 octobre 1659 (Basset), Doussin est présent et signe au contrat de mariage de Daniel

Panier avec Marie Polo, puis il assiste à la cérémonie du mariage, au mois de novembre suivant.

Le 15 novembre 1659 (Basset), il est présent et signe au contrat de mariage de Pierre Raguideau avec Marguerite Rebours.

Les deux derniers actes dans lesquels figure le nom de ce vaillant soldat sont l'inventaire de ses biens, en date du 26 mai 1660 et la vente d'iceux, un an plus tard, soit le 17 avril 1661.

Le premier de ces documents débute ainsi :

"Inventaire des hardes trouvées en la maison de deffunt Jean de Saint-Père, à la pointe Saint-Charles et en la possession de Jacques Morin... Lambert Closse est présent. La valeur des biens, selon Basset, est de 25 livres, 15 sols.

Il est dû au défunt 257 livres, 10 sols et il doit environ 415 livres.

Après Blaize Juillet, c'est le plus riche compagnon de Dollard.

Au chapitre de ses dettes on remarque un article indiquant qu'il était en excellents termes avec son chef : "Déclaré par moy commis (Basset), La somme de neuf Livres pour reste de plus grande somme par Luy respondue pour deffunt Le Sr Dollard...cy IX Livres."

Duval

Prénom: Nicolas; profession: serviteur au fort.

Il vint en ce pays en 1653 et voici ce que nous en dit l'historien de la colonie française:

“Nicolas Duval, de Forges, en Brie, aujourd'hui département de Seine et Marne, arrondissement de Fontainebleau, canton de Montereau, fut engagé par M. de la Dauversière le premier mai 1653 (14), et déclara, le 20 juin suivant, avoir reçu, en avancement de ses gages, 75 livres de la compagnie de Montréal.” (Faillon II, 542)

En 1655, il reçut 500 livres pour s'établir à Villemarie, en prenant l'engagement ordinaire de rendre cette somme s'il quittait un jour l'île de Montréal. (Faillon II, 188).

Dans son ordonnance du 18 janvier 1659, défendant la vente des boissons enivrantes en gros et en détail, sans un ordre par écrit, M. de Maisonneuve dit qu'il en est venu à ce remède extrême parce que certains habitants se livrent à des excès de boissons et au jeu, qu'ainsi ils s'endettent considérablement, si bien que désespérant de s'acquitter, il y en a trois “qui n'ont vue d'autre voye que de se dérober...par une fuite

(14) Dans le texte, une erreur typographique fait dire, à l'auteur, 1663.

dangereuse." Finalement il mentionne, à l'appui, l'évasion de Villemarie, de Sébastien Dupuy, Nicolas Duval et Pierre Papin qui furent repris à quatre lieues de l'habitation.

Sa mort, au champ d'honneur, rachète pleinement cette faute d'un moment.

Grenet

Prénom : Simon ; âge : 25 ans.

Le 5 octobre 1659 (Basset), Jacques Morin lui abandonne trois arpents de terre de bois abattu, à la Pointe Saint-Charles qu'il a loués de Jean Pichard.

Le 19 octobre suivant, Grenet cède lui-même ses droits à Jacques Beauchamp.

Mgr Tanguay dans les Mémoires de la Société Royale, 1ère série, Vol. I, l'a nommé Guenet.

Trois ans après son décès, on trouve dans la milice de la Sainte Famille un nommé Guillaume Grenet. Il est possible qu'ils aient été parents.

Hébert dit Larivière

Prénom : Laurent ; âge : 27 ans.

Aucun autre renseignement.

Josselin

Prénom: Nicolas; âge: 25 ans.

"Nicolas Jousselin ou Josselin, de Solesmes, aujourd'hui arrondissement de la Flèche, canton de Sablé, s'engagea par contrat signé de sa main et promit à M. de la Dauversière, le premier mai 1653, devant le notaire Lafousse, à la Flèche, de faire partie de la recrue pour Villenarie. Arrivé sur le bâtiment qui devait le porter, il reconnut avoir reçu de la compagnie de Montréal 75 livres, en avancement de ses gages, et signa l'acte de cette reconnaissance, dressé par le notaire Belliotte. Il était alors âgé de 18 ans." (Faillon II, 548).

Juillet dit Arignon

Prénom: Blaise; âge: environ 32 ans; profession, charpentier et cultivateur.

Juillet vint en ce pays en 1647 ou plus tôt, car dans un des plus anciens actes connus à Montréal et qui est considéré comme le troisième contrat de concession, Juillet est dit avoir une terre voisine de celle qui est accordé à Simon Richomme (Maisonneuve, 13 janvier 1648).

Cette mention n'implique pas, cependant, qu'il eut, dans le moment, autre chose qu'une simple

promesse, car M. de Maisonneuve n'en fait l'acte par écrit que le 30 octobre 1650. (15)

Quelques mois plus tard, le 10 février 1651, le notaire Ameau des Trois-Rivières rédigeait son contrat de mariage avec Antoinette de Liercourt et il y a toute apparence que la cérémonie se fit au même endroit.

Le 5 et le 12 février 1651 : Inventaire des biens de Michel Chauvin (greffe de Saint-Père), il apparaît en qualité de créancier et de débiteur.

Dans le greffe de Lambert Closse (18 septembre 1651), il est présent au contrat de mariage de Jean de Saint-Père et de Mathurine Godé.

Le 20 juillet précédent (1651), il est parrain d'un sauvage.

A l'inventaire des biens de défunt Augustin Hébert dit Jolicoeur, 2 juin 1654 (greffe Closse), il est porté sur la liste des créanciers. Cette même année, il reçoit du gouverneur une gratification de 400 livres en s'engageant à demeurer dans l'île de Montréal. (Archives du Séminaire)

En 1655 (30 mars et 4 avril) (16), il est un des

(15) Ceci se produit assez souvent sous M. de Maisonneuve et nous en indiquerons d'autres exemples dans une étude que nous préparons sur les actes du fondateur de Montréal.

(16) Greffe Lambert Closse. L'abbé Faillon II, 198, a attribué, par erreur, cet écrit à M. de Saint-Père qui pourtant n'y figure en aucune manière.

habitants de Villemarie, qui consentent à payer cent sous par an pour les services du chirurgien Bouchard.

On voit, au registre des minutes du tabellionage, que le 18 juin 1655, Juillet fait une transaction avec Catherine Lorrion, veuve de Pierre Vilain. Cette pièce est disparue.

Le 3 octobre 1658, au baptême de son fils Louis, c'est l'ex-gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France, Louis D'Ailleboust qui est parrain et Jeanne Mance qui est marraine.

Juillet est lui-même parrain d'un enfant de Pierre Richomme le 22 juin 1659.

C'est la dernière fois que son nom est mentionné dans un acte public de son vivant.

On sait qu'il trouva la mort au cours de l'engagement du 19 avril. L'abbé Faillon (II, 399), nous l'avons déjà dit, attribue sa noyade au fait qu'il n'était pas habitué à la navigation en canot.

Cela nous paraît difficile à admettre. A l'époque de son décès, Juillet était ici depuis treize ans, au moins, et comme les moyens de locomotion ne pullulaient pas en ces temps anciens, peut-on supposer qu'il n'ait pas eu l'occasion d'apprendre à ramer? D'ailleurs son acte de décès, ni M. de Casson n'indiquent la cause immédiate de son trépas.

Ainsi que nous l'avons fait remarquer l'expédition part au commencement du printemps, et bien des hypothèses peuvent expliquer l'accident: C'est le moment de la grande crue des eaux, et, alors, le courant est très rapide chaque côté de l'île Saint-Paul; à cette époque de l'année, le fleuve charroie encore des glaçons isolés, toujours dangereux pour les canotiers; entre l'île de Montréal et l'île Saint-Paul, il y a quantité de rochers à fleur d'eau, enfin, un faux mouvement de Soulard qui, lui, devait être novice, voilà autant de causes qui ont pu faire chavirer l'embarcation.

Moins de deux mois après sa mort, le 11 juin 1660, Basset rédige le contrat de mariage de sa veuve avec Hugues Picard et le 13 juin, sur l'ordre de M. de Maisonneuve, Picard est nommé tuteur des quatre enfants du défunt et Lambert Closse curateur.

Le 20 juin, est dressé un procès-verbal de ses biens, dans lequel on remarque qu'il avait sur sa terre, une maison de maçonnerie et charpente de 36 pieds par 18 pieds; un bâtiment pouvant servir de grange, ni clos ni couvert, mais avec 200 de bonnes planches et clous pour le couvrir. Son "roulant" est relativement considérable. Notons: 2 boeufs, 1 vache, 1 veau, 3 cochons, 1 charue, 2 fusils, 1 épée, 5 chaudières, 1 marmite, 1

gril, 1 *cramalière*, une pelle à feu, des tenailles, poêles à frire, cuillers à pot, broches, *tripiers*, *réchaux*, de la vaisselle d'étain, des outils, etc., 1 capot bleu, 1 manteau, 1 *justacorps* et haut de chausse, un caleçon de frise, des seaux ferrés, deux *cabannes*, une armoire, des coffres de bois et dix barriques.

C'est le richard de la troupe.

Juillet doit encore avoir des descendants en ce pays, car ses quatre enfants se marient et ont une nombreuse postérité; quelques-uns d'entre eux pourront, sans doute, assister à l'inauguration du monument Dollard.

Jurie

Prénom: Robert; âge: 24 ans.

On le nomme généralement Jurée, mais Basset écrit bien lisiblement, partout, Jurie et nous adoptons cette orthographe.

Un acte de Basset du 7 janvier 1660, nous apprend que Paul Benoist dit le Nivernois, charpentier, qui possédait la terre avoisinant celle de Dollard, au pied du courant Sainte-Marie, donne à Robert Jurie, "pour le temps et espace qu'il a du gouverneur... la jouissance de certaine quantité de terre qu'il a défriché... a raison de 17 minots de grain, bled froment, pois ou bled d'Inde, par an... pendant iceluy bail."

Ainsi qu'on le voit à l'acte de décès, on crut qu'il avait réussi à s'échapper des Iroquois, à gagner New-York et à repasser en France, mais on sut, plus tard, que cela était faux et il doit être un des quatre qui furent brûlés et torturés.

Lecompte

Prénom : Jean ; âge : 26 ans.

"Lecomte, nous dit l'abbé Faillon, demeurait sur la paroisse de Chemiré, en Charnie, pays du Maine, aujourd'hui arrondissement du Mans, canton de Loué. Il s'engagea à l'âge de 21 ans, par contrat passé à la Flèche entre lui et MM. de Maisonneuve et de la Dauversière, le 30 mars 1653 (notaire de Lafousse), à aller à Villemarie et le 20 juin suivant, il déclara dans la rade de St-Nazaire, avoir reçu de la Compagnie de Montréal, 120 livres en avancement des gages qu'elle lui avait assurés. (Faillon II, 550).

L'abbé ajoute qu'il faut le distinguer d'un autre Jean Lecompte de la ville d'Orléans qui fut tué avec Closse en 1662.

Ajoutons qu'au contrat de mariage de Pierre Cabazié (17) (Basset, 30 mars 1669), un autre Jean Lecompte est présent.

(17) C'est ainsi qu'il signe toujours.

Il est donc assez difficile de démêler lequel de ces Jean Lecomte, concernant les actes suivants :

Le 12 janvier 1659 (Basset) dans l'inventaire des biens de Jean de Saint-Père, est un état de ce qui a été payé à diverses personnes par la femme du défunt, Mathurine Godé, et on remarque qu'un nommé Jean Lecompte a reçu 10 livres pour du bois de chauffage fourni à la famille.

La même année, un Jean Lecompte est témoin au mariage de Marin Heurtebise.

Le 5 avril 1660 (Basset) un Jean Lecompte transporte à Jean de Niau, les droits et actions qu'il peut avoir... sur quatre arpents de terre sis sur la concession des héritiers du défunt Jean de Saint-Père.

Martin

Prénom : Louis ; âge : 21 ans ; profession : vacher.

Le 22 février 1660, il achète deux articles à la vente des biens meubles de cette pauvre Madeleine Fabrecque, morte l'automne précédent, quelques jours après son arrivée de France. Dans cet acte on le dit vacher, et il déclare ne savoir signer.

On trouve dans l'Histoire de M. de Maisonneuve par l'abbé Rousseau, qu'il y avait à Mont-

réal une fonction de vacher public et Louis Martin en fut peut-être le titulaire. Cette fonction, nous dit cet auteur, "consistait à garder les animaux dans la commune et au besoin de sonner l'alarme."

Robin dit Desforges

Prénom: Etienne; âge: 27 ans.

"Le lieu de sa naissance et celui où il passa son engagement sont également inconnus. Il fit partie de la recrue de 1653, et étant sur le *Saint-Nicolas*, de Nantes, qui allait mettre à la voile, il reconnut avoir reçu de la Compagnie de Montréal 79 livres en avancement des gages qu'elle lui avait assurés. (*Belliotte*, notaire)." (Faillon II, 557).

Soulard

Prénom: Mathurin; profession: charpentier.

Tout ce que l'on sait de lui, c'est qu'il était charpentier du fort et qu'il se noya avec Juillet, le 19 avril 1660.

Tavernier

Prénom: Jean; âge: 28 ans; profession: armurier.

Arriva en ce pays en 1653. "Nous ne connaissons ni les circonstances de son engagement ni

le lieu de sa naissance. Le surnom de *la Lochetière* qu'on lui donnait à Villemarie pourrait peut-être donner à soupçonner qu'il était venu des environs de Loches. Quoiqu'il en soit, Jean Tavernier qui avait passé son contrat d'engagement ailleurs qu'à la Flèche, se rendit au lieu de l'embarquement, déclara le 20 juin 1653, devant le notaire Beliotte avoir reçu de la Compagnie de Montréal, 97 livres en avancement de ses gages et signa de sa main cette déclaration. A Ville marie il se distingua par la sincérité de ses sentiments religieux et par son courage. (18) On ne doit pas le confondre avec un autre brave colon, également surnommé la Lochetière, déjà passé en Canada, où il avait donné des preuves éclatantes d'intrépidité et de valeur et qui s'appelait Etienne Thibault..." (Faillon II, 559).

Le surnom de "la Lochetière" ne lui est donné que dans l'acte de décès. Basset le nomme Jean Tavernier, sieur de la Forest dans deux actes de 1659.

Mgr Tanguay, volume I, page 560, le nomme Tavernier dit la Hochetière ainsi que l'abbé Faillon, volume II, page 415, ce qui est ni conforme à l'acte de décès, ni à l'étymologie du nom

(18) Ce passage reflète évidemment l'impression que lui a laissée la lecture du testament de Tavernier.

que le même abbé Faillon établit dans le passage que nous venons de citer.

Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1657, que Tavernier apparaît dans les documents publics.

Le 6 mai 1657 (greffe de Saint-Père), il est présent et signe au contrat de mariage de Pierre Gadois et Marie Pontonnier. Le 14 septembre 1658 (greffe Basset) il est présent et signe aux contrats de mariage de Michel Lonnard et Françoise Nadreau, puis de Simon Le Roy et Jeanne Godart. Le 5 novembre de la même année il est présent à une vente de terre par Jean Milot à la fabrique de Villemarie.

Le 2 octobre 1659, Claude Antoine Jobard lui transporte le travail qu'il a fait sur quatre arpents de terre de la concession de Charles Le Moyne, à la Pointe Saint-Charles. Le Moyne s'était engagé à remettre ce travail sur une concession que Jobard devait acquérir.

Pour les droits de Jobard, Tavernier lui paye 270 livres en "bon castor gras, loyal et marchand."

Trois jours plus tard, il est présent au contrat de mariage d'André Heurtebise et de Denise Lemaitre, puis, le 9 décembre suivant, au contrat de mariage de Marin Heurtebise et d'Etienne Alton.

C'est dans ces deux dernières pièces qu'on le surnomme "Sieur de la Forest".

Son testament me paraît avoir été écrit sous la dictée de Bailly qui devait se piquer d'avoir quelques connaissances légales, car il est témoin à une multitude d'actes et devint plus tard huissier de la seigneurie. Bien que mal rédigée, cette pièce conserve une valeur, et c'est pourquoi nous en donnons une transcription littérale.

Tiblemont

Prénom: Nicolas; âge: 25 ans; profession : serrurier.

Faillon II, 415 et Tanguay I, 568, le nomment Tillemont. Cependant, l'abbé Souart nous semble bien avoir écrit Tiblemont dans l'acte de décès, seul document où ce nom est mentionné.

Valets

Prénom: Jean; âge: 27 ans; profession: menuisier.

Arriva en 1653. "Jean Valet (ou Valleys) de la paroisse de Teillé, pays du Maine, aujourd'hui arrondissement du Mans, canton de Ballon, s'engagea à l'âge de 20 ans par contrat passé entre lui et MM. de Maisonneuve et de la Dauversière, le 30 mars 1653, à la Flèche, à joindre la recrue

qui devait partir prochainement pour Villemarie (*De Lafousse, notaire*).” (Faillon, II, 560).

En 1654, il reçut de M. de Maisonneuve 500 livres pour s'établir à Villemarie avec condition de résidence. (Faillon, II, 188).

Le 21 décembre 1654, Fiacre Ducharme et Jean Valets s'engagent à bâtir, pour leur usage commun, une maison sur un arpent de terre dans l'enclos désigné pour la ville, avec promesse de défricher des terres lorsqu'ils pourraient le faire sans avoir à redouter les embuscades des Iroquois. (Faillon, II, 191).

Le même jour, les mêmes colons s'obligent, envers la Compagnie de Montréal, de monter les fusils dont M. de Maisonneuve aurait besoin, à raison de 3 livres, 10 sous, et les pistolets au prix de 2 livres. (Faillon, II, 198).

Le 30 mars 1655 (greffe Closse), Valets est un de ceux qui s'engagent à verser 100 sous par année au chirurgien Bouchard, pour ses soins.

Le 9 octobre 1658, il est mentionné au procès verbal des immeubles de Julien Daubigeon.

Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, son testament, par le fait qu'il est le seul dont on ait cité des extraits, acquiert une importance considérable, aussi le reproduisons-nous ici, en fac-simile et en transcription.

Ajoutons que le nommé Pichard, à qui Valets léguait ses biens, ne fut pas beaucoup plus heureux que le donateur, car le 14 avril 1661, il était tué à la Pointe Saint-Charles.

L'inventaire des biens de Valets se fit par Basset en présence de Lambert Closse, le 26 mai 1660. Voici l'entête de cette pièce: "Inventaire des hardes trouvées en la maison et possession de Jean Pichard à la Pointe Saint-Charles... On y constate que Valets était en bon état de fortune.

Parmi ses papiers est un bail de 4 arpents de terre, par Jacques Lemoyne successeur de Jean de Saint-Père, audit Valets et Jacques Morin.

Ses dettes s'élèvent à 39 livres, 5 sols.

Le 5^{me} de Juin 18

Nous avons reçu nouvelles par un huron qui se portoit
l'année d'entre les mains des Iroquois qui avoient pris
existence au combat qui se fit fait & eurent auparavant
entre les Iroquois qui estoient au nombre de huit
cent et dix sept François de cette habitation et quatre
Algonkins et environnante cinquante hurons au pied du
long saut qui treize de nos François avoient esté
tués et les blancs et quatre emmenés prisonniers
lesquels du depuis nous avons appris par 4 autres hurons
qui se sont amiez au si esté actuellement à nos lieux
les Iroquois en leur pays. Or les noms des François
morts estoient.

Adam Paulat commandant âgé de 24 ans

Jacques Bissart 24 ans

Jean Causin dit de la Roche dite armurier 23 ans

Nicolas dit le mont et l'indien 24 ans.

Laurent Robert dit de la Rivière 27 ans.

Alou de l'office charbonnier 31 ans.

Nicolas Gosselin 24 ans.

Isidore et Robert Jurec 24 ans. Nous avons appris qu'il y a eu par les
Iroquois en Jacques Boisseau 23 ans.

Louis Martin 21 ans

Christophe Anier dit des Jardins 24 ans.

Estienne Robin dit des forges 27 ans.

Jean Vabato 27 ans.

Renaudin 30 ans.

Jean Le Comte 26 ans

Simon Goulet 24 ans.

François Buisson dit Pilote 24 ans.

Fac-similé de l'acte de décès.

ACTE DE DECES

LE 3 DE JUIN

Nous avons receu nouvelles par Un huron qui sestoit
Sauvé dentre les mains des Iroquois qui L'avoient pris
prisoiner au combat qui s'estoit fait 8 iours auparavant
entre Lesd Iroquois qui estoient au nombre de huit
cent Et dix sept françois de cette habitation et quatre
Algonquins et environ quarante hurons au pied du
long Saut que treize de nosd françois avoient esté
tuez sur la place et quatre emmenez prisoniers
lesquels du depuis nous avons appris par dautres hurons
qui Se Sont Sauvez avoir esté cruellemt bruslez par
lesd Iroquois en leur pays. Or les noms desd françois
morts estoient.

Adam Daulat commandant aagé de 25 ans

Jacques Brassier 25 ans

Jean Tavernier dit La lochetière armurier 28 ans

Nicolas Tiblemont serrurier 25 ans.

Laurent hebert dit la Riviere 27 ans.

Aloné de l'estre chauffournier, 31 ans.

Nicolas Josselin, 25 ans.

Robert Jurie 24 ans. No' avons appris quil s'est
sauvé par les hollandais et retourné en France

Jacques Boisseau, 23 ans

Louys Martin 21 ans

Christophe Augier dit des Jardins 26 ans.

Estienne Robin dit des forges 27 ans.

Jean Valets, 30 ans.

René Doucin 30 ans.

Jean Lecompte 26 ans

Simon Grenet 25 ans.

françois Crusson dit Pilote, 24 ans.

(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte).

Fac-similé du testament de Jean Valets.

DONATION FAITE PAR

JEAN VALETS

A JEAN PICHARD EN DATTE

DU 18'. AVRIL 1660.

Pardevant Benigne Basset commis au greffe et tabellionnage de Villemarie en lisle de de Montreal et tesmoins desnommez et Soubzne. fut present en Sa personne Jean Valets de pnt' en ce lieu, lequel desirant aller en party avec Lesr. Dollard, cour sur les petites bandes hiroquoises et nos Ennemis, Et ne scachant comme Il plaira A Dieu disposer de luy penda. Ced. temps., A Volontairement fait et Constitué pour héritier Irrévocable en Cas qu'il Vienne faute de sa personne en Ced.' Voiage et au'es qu'il pouroit faire cy apres, La personne de Jean pichard habitant de Ce Lieu Auquel Il Veu et Entend quapres son deceds Luy estre propre tous ses biens meubles et Immeubles presents, A la charge par led pichard, de fe. celebrer en cette parroisses quatre grandes messes hautes pour le repos de Son Ame et de payer Ses debtes qui Aucunes peut debvoir Car Ainsy fe. luy plaise, Promette. et Obligeant Renoncant etc. fait et passé A Villemarie en lestude du Nre lan IVI

Soixante ce dix-huictiesme Jour d'Avril Apres
Midy en pnce des sieurs Jean le Mercher dit la
Roche et louis chartier tesmoins A ce requis et
Soubzsignez Apres qe. led Valets a dit et de-
claré ne scavoir escrire ni signer de Ce Enquis
suiv. lordce.

Jean le Mercher

Chartier

Basset

Nore

(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte).

TESTAMENT DE JEAN TAVERNIER

DU 17 AVRIL 1660

Jay sousbssine confesse Jehan Tavernier de mon propre gré et volonté promest et donne a Lesglise de Montreal quatre arpens de terre qui sont en labitation de charles Le moinne et en jouyront jousque a tant que le dit moyne en aye de faict autant sur labitation dudit tavernier-un mot en rature

Je donne aussi labitation que Monsieur le gouverneur luy a donnée a la Rivière St Pierre à la charge que messieurs les Pbres diront au jour de Ste Anne une Messe haulte et une le jour de St Jean baptiste a lintention du dit tavernier et ses Père et Mère et en cas que ledit tavernier meurt et sil ne meurt pas le sousbsiné sera cassé et de nulle valleur deux mots en rature faict en presence de francois baillif et de Jehan prestot dont le dit prestot a déclaré ne scavoir siner ont siné F. bailly Jen tavernier faict ce 17 davril 1660

Jay sousbsiné confesse Jehan tavernier donne a Maistre Jehan Millot tout ce quil a entre mains sans que aucun le puisse troubler ni empescher de ce faire paier ce qui est deub audit tavernier et si quelquun le trouble que ce soit a sa confusion, pour ce qui est du Revenu de La dite terre

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M Millot partagera avec Olivier Cherbonneau et fera aracher les souches pour passer La charue faict en pressence de francois baillif et Jehan prestot dont le dit presto a declaré ne scavoir siner et ont siné dont il y a quatre most en rature f. bailly. (avec paraphe)

Jean Tavernier faict le 17 avril 1660.

Jean milot a declaré en ma présence accepter la donation dudict Jean tavernier mentionner cy dessus et pour cequi est du revenu de la terre a partager avecq Charbonneau Il a consenty que leglise en Jouisse et luy cedde tout cequel y pou-
vait pretendre faict le 30 mai 1660

Paul de Chomedy

(Sur une feuille annexée)

Memoyre de ce que je doibst dont je prie mais-
tre Jean Millot de paier

premierement a Mr le Moyne.....23 tt 7 S

Mr. du bois.....20 tt

a Messieurs les pbres.....36 tt

Monsieur Lambert de (mots incompréhensibles)

15 tt

A Jehan prestot.....50 tt

a chauvin3 tt 10 S

a Mr de St Andre.....36 tt

Le beausseron un manteau de (incompréhensible) doublé et 18 pieds de merizier écaré

a monsieur Lamble (?) 6 tt

a La Vigne 3 tt 10 S

a Jaques morin 22 tt 7 S 6 d

(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte).

ARNOLD AT QUEBEC

A REMINISCENCE OF THE AMERICAN INVASION OF 1775.

Having, recently, acquired a most interesting historical item, which the Editors of the "Canadian Antiquarian" deem of sufficient interest to present to the readers of that Journal, I have made a transcription of it.

It consists of the manuscript Expense Book of the Commissary under Benedict Arnold when in command at Quebec, after the death of Montgomery. The book is a pocket memorandum, measuring three and one half, by four and one half inches.

The entries commence 8th Feb'y, 1776, and end May 17th, 1776.

They go to show that large sums of money were disbursed for the purchase of beef and other supplies, and that, to give the invader his due, he paid his way, to this extent at least, and did not live at the expense of the inhabitants, as it may possibly have been assumed.

This little book is in excellent condition, when it is remembered that it was with difficulty that

the American soldiers at Quebec, brought even their bodies back. The wonder is that this book should have survived the perils and dangers of that unfortunate expedition. But, more wonderful is the fact, that the book should have found its way back to the very locality, at Quebec, where it had been in 1775, whence I got it, and then to the Château de Ramezay, the Head Quarters of the Continental Army in 1775-76.

THOS. O'LEARY,
Assistant Librarian.

MICARTIE'S ACCT.

Jan. 7. 16 4 Loads from Mr. Bondfields

1 do to . . . (?)

1 do from Mr. Bondfields

16.. 3 do from do

Washing Woman

Widow Giroux at Renauds

St Foix 8th Feb.y 1776

Recd from General Arnold

Three Hundred & Sixty pounds
 Lawfull money or £300 “ “
 Hx. Cur.y

gave Mr. Jno. Taylor to Acct.
 50 pistoles @ 18|4 £45“16“8

Sent Mr. Edward Walters at Point
 Levy 100 Pistoles @ 18|4 £91“13“4
 Feb.7 8th 1776

paid Michael Amiell (Hamel) to Acct.
 to Buy Beef 40 dolls. or £10“0“0
 one Do Loon 3“13“4
 12th

paid Mr. Taylor to Acct. £18“6“8
 paid— to 13th to Acct. 45“16“8

64“3“4

13th
 Sent Mr. Waters by Lambert
 50 pistoles @ 18|4 -- £45“16“8

paid Carrie to Acct. for Crossing Beef
 & flour 12 pistoles @ 18|4 £11“0“0
 14th

Recd. from General Arnold one
 Hundred & Twenty pistoles or one
 Hundred & Thirty two pounds Lawfull

Equal to £110“0“0 Hx.—

Feb.y 15th 1776

Sent Mr. Edward Waters by Lambert
Fifty Six pistoles @ 18|4 Hx. £51“6“8

paid Mr. Taylor to Acct. £23.6.8
17th

paid Carie to Acct. for Crossing Beef
four pistoles @ 18|4 Hx. £3“13“4

paid Mr. Taylor to Acct. £23“6“8
18th

Recd. of General Arnold Twenty
five pounds Hx. Cur.y £25“0“0

paid Edward Waters to Acct. Twenty
five pounds Hx. Cur.y—£25“0“0

Feb.y 22nd. 1776

Paid Isaac Gordon for going
round the Island of Orleans—
after provisions 7|6 Hx. £0“7“6

23

paid Pierre Châlou to Acct.
Seven pounds 6|8 Hx. £7“6“8
Recd. of Genl. Arnold to Acct. Fifty
pounds Lawfull or £41“13“4 Hx.—

paid Mr. Taylor to Acct. £41“13“4

 24th

paid Michael Amiel a Ballance
for Buyin 27 Cattle... £3¹⁷41½

En: 15th. Decemr. 1775

Feb.y 26th 1776

Recd. of General Arnold Fifty
pounds Lawfull or Hx. £41¹³4

paid Mr. Taylor to Acct. £41¹³4

Recd. of General Arnold one
Hundred pounds Lawfull
. or Hx. £83⁶8

Sent Edward Waters by
Mr. Bondfield — £15¹³4
Sent do 27 by Mr Houston 30 “ “

 27

Gave Michael Amiel to Acct.
to Buy Beef as pr. Rect. £37⁰0
March 1st. 1776

Recd. of Genl. Arnold Sixty —
pounds Lawfull or Hx. £50.0.0

Hx.

Gave Mr. John Taylor to Acct. £22.0.0

Recd. from Point Levy 4 pecies
Iron wt. 89 lb.....

————— 2 ———

Gave Mr. Taylor to Acct. £7“13“9
————— 4th —————

Recd. of Genl. Arnold One Thousand
Dollars in paper money.....

Or Hx. — £250“ “ “
paid Mr. John Taylor to Acct.
five Hundred & Twelve dollars
in paper Currency Hx. £128 “ “

March 5th 1776

Sent Mr. Edward Waters four
Hundred & Eighty four dollars
in papers Cur.y — Hx. £121.0.0

—————
Recd. of Genl. Arnold three
Hundred dollars in Silver
£90“—Lawfull or Hx. £75“0.0

————— 6th —————

Gave Noel Belau on Acct. to—
buy Beef at Isle Orleans fifty
dollars in Silver Hx. £12.10.0

————— 9th —————

paid a Cariole & Expences to
St. Jochain 10s- Hx.
after Beef &c.

13th

paid to man going to St. Jochain
by Genl. Arnolds Order after Wheat
7|6 Entd. 15th.

————— 14th —————

Recd. from Genl. Arnold one Hundred
& Eighty three pounds four Shills.
Lawfull or Hx. ——— £152“13.4

—————
Mr. Taylor Dr. To Cash from the
Above sum Hx.—£4“13.4

—————
paid Mr. Fregith Arnolds Expenses
to Point Levy 5|- Enterd 15th.

————— 15th —————

Gave Dubore at Bertie to Buy
Beef &c Thirty Dollars to Acct.
£7“10“0

17th. March

Examined the Farm at River
de Loup & found—————
4 pair Oxen property of Major Cadwell
2 pair Dt. property of John ———
Maglauglin the Farmer ———
in good Order but not Fat ———

15th. March 1776

Gave Mr. Lebrun to buy Beef &c
for the Army Ninety Six pounds

thirteen Shills. & 4d Hx. to Acct.
£96.13.4

17 paid Ferie to Acct. 46|8 for Carriage
of Provision

19th
paid Joseph Jean Guay for —
going to River de Soud after —
flour in Decemr. Last Hx. 15|—
Enterd to date

paid Pierre Jeaque Guay for
going to St. Egan to Buy Beef
&c for the Army 39 Livers or £1“12“6
End. to date—

20th
paid Noel Belau going round
the Island of Orleans after Beef
&c 30 Livers or Hx. — £1“5“0
Entd. to date—

20th. March 1776
paid Cariole from point Levy to
River de Loup & back again
being 80 Leagues @ 1|— £4.0.0
Expences on the Road 7 days - 1“1“6

Entd. to Acct. Hx. £5“1.6

Gave E. Waters to Acct. Hx. £43.0.0

Recd. from Genl. Arnold viz

Lawfull

14th. by Mr. Taylor £250-Hx. £300.0.0

do. by do. 85 - - 102 - -

19— by do. 166“13.0 or 200 - -

20— by do. 25 - - 30 - -

23. Mr. Bondfield for E. Waters

Twenty five pounds Hx. or 30 “ “

27th. by J. Halsted 80 “ “ or 96. “ “

27 & 30 by Mr. Taylor 12.-0“10—14.9.0

27th. March 1776

Sent E. Waters by Mr. Bondfield

10 half Jos.....£20.0.0

7 do. Loons @ £3.13.4 25.13.4

160 dollars in paper — 40.0.0

Hx. £85.13.4

30

paid Capt. Esperance as pr. Rect.

11“3“14 Nt. flour @ 10|- £5.18.9

—— 15 Bus Pease @ 5|- 3“15.0

Entd to date — £9“13“9

 31st

Recd. of Mr. Lebrun forty Guineas
and Twenty dolls. is Hx. £51“13.4

Recd. of Mr. Le Brune four pair
womans shoes one pair mans
Shoes five Quires paper & 1000
Shingle Nails. ———

1st. April 1776

paid Joseph Roy at Beaumont
319 lb Beef a 13¼d £2“6.4
185 lb pork . —@ 3d 2“6.3

as per Rect. ——— £4“12.7
20 ct. flour ...@ 10|- 10. “ “

2nd

paid Cariole to Cape St. Ignace
after provisions 28 Leagues @ 1|-£1“8.0
Expences three days 7.6

Entd. to date ——— £1“15.6

paid E. Waters to Acct.
Thirty Six Guineas ... £42“0.0
Twenty dollars 5. - -
£47“0.0

_____ 5th _____
 paid John Duca to Acct.
 for Genl. Arnold 20|- £1“0.0
 paid Cariole to & from Jacartie 0“18.6
 paidExpences to do 4.6

 Entd. to date , £1“3.0

St Pierre April 1st.
 Michael Blau 300 Bus Wheat
 Louis Fountain 50 do.
 5th. April 1776
 Recd. of Larose or Guillott—
 _____ 1546 Bus. Wheat
 from Marlett 396 Bus. do.
 for Acct. of Messr. Price & Haywood
 _____ 8th _____
 paid Capt. Esperance . _____
 for 6“0.0. Nt. flour @ 10|- £3.0.0
 Enterd
 _____ 12th. _____
 Recd. of Michael Hamiell one
 Hundred & twelve dolls. £28“0.0.

 paid Mr. Taylor to Acct. 20|—
 _____ 20th. _____
 paid 8 Cords Wood for the Bake
 House at Mr. Bondfields brought

from Point Levy @ 5|6 £2“4.0
 Enterd to date

17th. April 1776

Recd. of Mr. James Hanna Ten
 pounds Hx. to be returned £10. - -
 Returnd 6 May

26th.

Bot. of Mr. Faillon Priest at Cape
 Santie 550 Bus. Wheat @ 4 Livers

paid Carriages to & from Cape
 Santie 20 League @ 1|- £1“0.0
 paid Expences 6.0

after Wheat & flour £1“6.0

26th.

paid Saml. Graham 30 days —
 as a Baker at Silery 18|9 Hx.
 Enterd

paid Jeaque Marcau for
 18 Bus Wheat @ 3|4 Hx. & 3“0.0
 Entd. to date

April 26

Mr. Taylor paid for Baking
 13th. Feb. 7

To Francis Brittain £18“6.8

To John Frichett — 14“13.4

18th. March

To Francis Brittain 34“ “ “

paid Serjant Guion to pay for
Wood for Bake House at Siley
Three pounds 13|4 Hx. £3“13.4
14th. April

May 3rd 1776

Recd. of Genl. Wooster two Hundred
pounds Hx. to Acct. £200.0.0

May 4th. 1776

Recd. of Mr. John Winslow assist. pay
Mast. one thousand dols. in paper
by Virtue of a Warant from Genl.
Wooster Hx. £250.0.0

gave Michael Hamel to pay
for Wheat bot. at Jeaque Cartie
& Cape Santie one Hundred —
pounds Hx. — — £100..0.0

paid Mr. John Taylor Thirty Six
pounds to Acct. ——— £36..0.0

paid Edward Waters one Hundred
pounds by Carrie — £100.0.0

May 4th. 1776

paid Francis Brittain to Acct.
Twenty four pounds £24..0.0

paid John Frechett to Acct.
Twenty pounds _____ £20.0.0
_____ 17th. _____

paid James Glenly on Genl. Woosters
Order Twelve half Jos.....£24"0.0

The following note is written at the end of the entries by a W. Paterson, into whose possession the book, no doubt, subsequently came:

"The foregoing entries would seem to have been made by some person who was connected with the military operations in Canada 1775-76, perhaps in the Commissary department, possibly John Halsted. There is no mem. to indicate the name."

W. PATERSON Sept 24|29

EDITORIAL NOTE

NOTE:—It may be interesting, in connection with Mr. O'Leary's valuable contribution, to recall, briefly, the circumstances attending the military operations before Quebec in 1775-6. We quote from Sir James Lemoine's *Picturesque Quebec*, pp. 120-128.

"The Continentals of Brigadier-General Montgomery had settled on the following plan of attack:—Col. Livingston, with his three hundred Canadians and Major Brown, was to simulate an attack on the Western portion of the walls—Montgomery to come from Holland House down by Wolfe's Cove, creep along the narrow path close to the St. Lawrence and meet Arnold on his way from the General Hospital at the foot of Mountain Hill, and then ascend to Upper Town."...

... "Montgomery and Colonel Benedict Arnold, at dawn on the 31st December, 1775, attempted to take the old fortress by storm. The first, with a number of his followers, met with his death at *Près-de-Ville*, in Champlain street; the other was carried wounded in the knee, to the General Hospital, St. Roch's suburbs, whilst 427 of his command were taken prisoners of war and

incarcerated until September following in the Quebec Seminary, the Récollet Convent and the Dauphin prison, since destroyed, but then existing, a little North of St. John's Gate, inside."

... "Brigadier General Montgomery, before settling near New York, had held a lieutenant's commission in His Britannic Majesty's 17th Foot, had taken part in the war of the conquest in 1759, and had visited Quebec. Col. Benedict Arnold, attracted by the fame of our Norman horses, had more than once been in the City with the object of trading in them."

Mr. O'Leary's little book establishes some interesting facts respecting the Commissariat Department, and the historian has this to say about the General himself:

"Benedict Arnold was indeed a daring Commander. His successful journey through trackless forests between Cambridge and Quebec, his descent in boats through rivers choked with ice, and through dangerous rapids; the cold, hunger and exposure endured by himself and his soldiers, were feats of endurance of which any nation might justly feel proud."

The historian cites at length from the journal of John Joseph Henry, "an intrepid and youthful volunteer under Arnold, then aged seventeen years," giving an account of an eye-witness and

participator in these stirring events, to which the reader is referred. In a couple of foot-notes there is given some information, which, as it may be new to many, we here append :

“Each man of the three rifle companies (Morgan’s, Smith’s and Hendrick’s) bore a rifle barreled gun, a tomahawk or small axe, and a long knife, usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His underdress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting shirt, leggings and moccasins if the latter could be procured. It was a silly fashion of those times for riflemen to ape the manners of the Savages. The Canadians who first saw these men emerge from the woods, said they were *vêtus en toile*—clothed in linen. The word *toile* was changed to *tôle*—iron-plated. By a mistake of a single word the fears of the people were greatly increased, for the news spread that the mysterious army that descended from the wilderness was clad in *sheet-iron!*”

“The flag used by what was called the Continental troops, of which the force led into Canada by Arnold and Montgomery was a part, was of plain crimson, and perhaps sometimes it may have had a border of black. On the 1st January, 1776, the army was organized, and the new flag

then adopted was first unfurled at Cambridge, at the head-quarters of General Washington, the present (1882) residence of the poet Longfellow. That flag was made up of thirteen stripes, seven red and six white, but the Union was the Union of the British flag of that day, blue bearing the Cross of St. Andrew combined with the Cross of St. George and a diagonal red Cross for Ireland. This design was used by the American Army till after the 14th June, 1777, when Congress ordered that the Union should be changed, the Union of the English flag removed and in its place there should be a simple blue field with thirteen white stars, representing the thirteen colonies declared to be States. Since that time there has been no change in the flag except that a star is added as each new State is admitted."—THE EDITOR.

THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

Fourth Series

APRIL 1913

Vol. X

UNE RECRUE DE COLONS POUR MONT-
REAL, EN 1659

Comment on immigrait autrefois

PAR E.-Z. MASSICOTTE

Archiviste du Palais de Justice

NOTE.—We are again enabled—thanks to the assiduity of Mr. Massicotte, Archivist of the Court House, and Mr. Lapalice, Archivist of the Fabrique, in collating and transcribing the documents—to present, in furtherance of the aims of this Journal, the accompanying data, of interest, it is to be hoped, to the present-day reader and of undoubted value to the future historian.

The trend of this number of the Antiquarian is towards the questions of Population and Marriage, and the naïve commingling of high statesmanship and homely paternalism in relation to the individual and public welfare with respect thereto is both quaint and instructive.

Incidentally, Mr. Massicotte refutes—so far as concerns the immigration of the years with which he deals—the aspersions of some historians with respect to contaminated sources of supply, show-

ing as he does the care taken in the selection of prospective immigrants from respectable surroundings, and giving in detail the family particulars which the authorities were so careful to have noted.

Mr. Lapalice's transcription of the Episcopal Letter, and subsequent proceedings thereon, throws an interesting side-light on the condescending solicitude of the high dignitary in concerning himself with the personal welfare of his flock in their marriage relations, mindful, no doubt, of their effect upon the larger question of needed increase of population. The personal touches to be observed throughout are not the least interesting of the subject matter of the Letter.

The tabulation of the statistics of the population of the Island of Montreal for the year 1825, compiled by Mr. Lapalice from the Record, is evidence of the growth of population since the first "planting of the mustard seed" on that fertile Isle less than 200 years before. The initials "J. V.", appended thereto, are those of Jacques Viger—the first Mayor of the newly incorporated City of Montreal in the year 1833, who was one of the Commissioners appointed to take the Census from which the figures are transcribed:—EDITOR.

I.

Ly a quelques mois, en même temps que M. J. C. O. Bertrand, des Archives fédérales, exhumait, du Séminaire de notre ville, la liste des colons qui abandonnèrent leur patrie, en 1659, pour venir s'établir à Villemarie, je retrouvais, au Palais de Justice, l'expédition du contrat fait à la Rochelle, entre Mademoiselle Mance et quelques-uns de ces immigrants, ainsi que la quittance qu'elle leur donna, plus tard, en ce pays, lorsqu'elle eût été remboursée des sommes qu'elle avait avancées.

Comme il m'a été possible de prendre copie de ces divers documents et qu'il m'a paru que les amateurs du détail historique aimeraient à les lire, je les reproduis en les faisant précéder de quelques renseignements, les uns glanés dans les ouvrages de l'érudit abbé Faillon: *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, *Vie de Melle Mance* et *Vie de la soeur Bourgeoys*, les autres, extraits des pièces mêmes que je viens de mentionner.

Ce récit assez sommaire suffira pour donner une idée des difficultés que les fondateurs de la métropole canadienne eurent à surmonter dans l'accomplissement de leur tâche méritoire.

II.

De toutes les recrues qui furent levées pour Villemarie, au XVII^e siècle, il n'en est pas dont le départ de France, la traversée de l'océan et l'arrivée au Canada aient été entourés d'autant de circonstances dramatiques. (1)

Mais elle n'est pas remarquable seulement sous ce rapport; son importance réside, surtout, dans le fait qu'elle complétait la trilogie des institutions dont les fondateurs désiraient doter la ville naissante.

(1) On aurait tort de croire, cependant, que la recrue de 1653, fit au voyage d'agrément, ainsi qu'on le verra dans une prochaine étude.

Par la recrue de 1657, Montréal avait obtenu les services d'une communauté de prêtres dévoués, par celle de 1659, la colonie montréalaise s'assurait l'existence des Hospitalières et d'un institut de filles enseignantes.

III.

Il venait presque, d'être résolu, en 1658, d'établir les Hospitalières de Québec à Montréal, lorsque Mlle Mance, qui savait que ce projet ne rencontrerait pas les vues de M. de la Dauversière, songea à se rendre en France. Sa décision connue, Marguerite Bourgeois saisit l'occasion de faire le voyage avec elle, dans l'intérêt de l'institut qu'elle projetait, et à ces deux femmes d'élite, durent se joindre quelques colons, car d'après l'étude minutieuse que nous faisons de la population de Montréal à ses débuts, Claude Robutel, sieur de Saint-André, Claude-Antoine Jobart, Urbain Baudereau dit Graveline et Michel Bouvier qui étaient ici en 1658 cessent tout-à-coup de figurer dans les actes publics pour ne réapparaître qu'avec les nouveaux venus en octobre 1659. (1)

Nos Montréalistes (suivant l'expression en usage sous le régime français) quittèrent notre

(1) Voir la liste.

ville le 20 de septembre 1658, puis s'embarquèrent à Québec le 14 octobre.

A Paris, mesdemoiselles Mance et Bourgeois se mirent à l'oeuvre et bientôt, des gens distingués et bien disposés leur prêtèrent secours. Nous nous dispenserons de les suivre, au pays des aïeux, pour ne pas allonger ces notes qui ne sont qu'explicatives; il me suffira de dire que trois puissances collaborèrent au recrutement: les Associés de Montréal fournirent les fonds pour engager des soldats et procurer à Melle Bourgeois des filles pour son oeuvre ou pour devenir les compagnes des solitaires pionniers déjà établis; le Séminaire St-Sulpice avec l'aide de M. de Queylus et de M. Souart leva un nombre de défricheurs, d'artisans et de filles; enfin, l'Hôtel-Dieu, c'est-à-dire Melle Mance, soutenue par Mme de Bullion, recruta trois hospitalières, quelques filles et des familles complètes, la plupart venant du Marans, en Saintonge et plus ou moins apparentées entre elles.

Le rendez-vous des émigrés était à la Rochelle et l'on devait s'embarquer à la fin de mai. C'est alors que commencent les tribulations.

Dans la ville de la Flèche, dès qu'on apprend que des religieuses et autres jeunes filles vont partir pour le Canada, le peuple s'ameute. Il croit, tant la chose lui paraît extraordinaire,

que ces frèles demoiselles ne vont pas, de bon gré, s'enfouir dans les forêts du Nouveau-Monde, mais qu'on les enlève de force. Il monte la garde, et le 26 de mai, au matin, lorsqu'il les voit apparaître, à cheval, il se précipite pour leur barrer passage. Aussi est-ce à grande peine que M. Robutel de Saint-André et d'autres gentils-hommes qui formaient l'escorte ,(1) peuvent se frayer passage, menaçant la foule de l'épée, sans toutefois blesser personne.

IV.

A la Rochelle, nouveaux embarras. Le propriétaire du navire, sans doute influencé, refuse d'appareiller sans que les passages soient payés ; il paraît même profiter de la circonstance pour élever ses prix. Mais Mademoiselle Mance, qu'on ne prend jamais au dépourvu, obtient de l'argent d'un marchand à la suite d'un contrat qu'elle fait avec le groupe des colons qui venait en famille.

Ces derniers, le 5 de juin, s'obligent donc, solidairement, de lui rembourser ses avances dans deux ans. Examinons qu'elles étaient leurs obligations.

(1) Probablement ceux qu'on qualifie de *soldat*, dans la liste.

D'après Mlle Bourgeois, il avait été convenu qu'elle et ses compagnes devaient être embarquées au prix de 50tt (1) chacune, y compris les provisions et les coffres, mais que le maître du navire exigea 175tt au dernier moment (Faillon, II, 353).

Cette somme paraît élevée, si on la compare à celle que Mlle Mance exige de ses colons, pour leur passage et leur nourriture jusqu'à Québec, et qui nous semble être de 75tt pour les adultes et les jeunes gens, 50tt pour les adolescents et 25tt pour les tout petits.

En voici l'état :

Olivier Charbonneau, son épouse et sa fil.,	175tt
Simon Cardinault, son épouse et 2 enf.,	225tt
Pierre Goyer, son épouse et une fille . . .	175tt
Jean Roy et son épouse	150tt
Mathurin Thibaudeau, son ép. et 4 enf.,	350tt
Jean Racaud, son épouse et 3 enfants . . .	275tt
Pierre Guiberge, son épouse et 2 enfants .	225tt
Elie Beaujean, son épouse et 2 enfants . .	225tt

Ces prix, relativement modiques me laissent croire que ces colons ne devaient pas occuper les meilleures places du navire et que leur nourriture n'était, tout au plus, que suffisante. D'ailleurs, on ne traite pas les émigrants autrement,

(1) Le signe "tt" remplace, les lettres *ll* barrées qui, dans les manuscrits sont l'abréviation du mot *livres*.

de nos jours. Il est vrai que nos colons avaient d'autres dépenses à défrayer : par exemple, ils prenaient à leur charge le fret de "leurs hardes et esquipages" dont le montant ne nous est pas connu ; ensuite, il leur fallait assumer le coût des coffres que Mlle Mance leur achète pour placer leurs vêtements. Ces coffres valent de 22 à 36 livres et le contrat énumère ce que chacun devra, de ce chef.

Enfin, ces familles, moins les Racaud, restent débitrices en la somme de 197^{tt} 8s que Mlle Mance a versé à Daniel Guerry, *hoste de la Grâce de Dieu*, pour leur logement et nourriture, durant leur séjour à la Rochelle.

Les dépenses de la famille Racaud à l'hôtellerie de Pierre Pots, rue Saint-Nicolas, ne sont que de dix livres. (1)

V.

Les tergiversations semblent maintenant finies et l'embarquement s'effectue le 29 de juin, sur le *Saint-André*, capitaine Poulet, puis le 2 de juillet, on met à la voile.

C'est ici le moment d'étudier la liste de la recrue, car elle a certainement été dressée peu avant le départ.

(1) Cette famille ayant ensuite refusé de faire la traversée, il n'en est plus question.

Cette liste indique qu'il y avait 109 personnes pour lesquelles le prix du passage a été versé ou garanti par ceux qui avaient dirigé le recrutement. De ce nombre, il faut retrancher Jean Condart et André Bouvier, qui ne sont certainement pas montés sur le navire, puisqu'on a ajouté, en marge, "qu'ils s'étaient cachés."

Sur les 107 qui restent, il y a 60 hommes, et adolescents, 39 femmes mariées et jeunes filles et 8 enfants en bas âge.

En scrutant la liste au point de vue des professions, côté du sexe masculin, on trouve ce qui suit :

2 prêtres, 6 soldats, 7 massons, 3 serruriers, 1 charpentier, 9 défricheurs, 2 fendeurs de bois et défricheurs, 1 boulanger et défricheur, 2 menuisiers et 26 dont les occupations sont ignorées.

Du côté, des célibataires du sexe féminin, trois religieuses : les soeurs Moreau de Brésolles, Macé et Maillet, viennent implanter la communauté des Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph dans la colonie ; trois autres, les futures soeurs Croleau, Raisin et Hiou (1), joueront un rôle dans la fondation de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, deux autres encore : Mlles Perrine de Belestre, soeur

(1) On ajoute, parfois, à ces trois noms celui de Marie Polo.

La lecture de la liste fera voir qu'elle était servante et qu'elle se maria en arrivant.

du fameux Pierre Picoté de Belestre et Catherine Gauchet de Belleville, cousine de l'abbé Souart ont l'intention de se consacrer au Seigneur, mais plus tard, elles se marieront avec des citoyens éminents; enfin, on peut noter que la plupart des "filles à marier" appartiennent à d'excellentes familles de Paris et que deux d'entre elles, quoique françaises, ont leurs parents à Londres, Angleterre.

Si l'on considère la liste au point de vue des colons qui arrivaient de France pour la première fois, il faut retrancher l'abbé Vignal qui avait déjà été aumônier des Ursulines à Québec, Claude Robutel de Saint-André qui fit le voyage pour se trouver une compagne, Urbain Baudereau, Michel Bouvier, Mlles Mance et Bourgeois. (1)

Ainsi que l'abbé Faillon nous en prévient, cette liste ne contient pas les noms de tous les passagers, car il y avait, en plus, 17 ou 18 filles pour Québec (2), ainsi que d'autres colons qui payaient leurs propres dépenses, si bien qu'en total, il pouvait y avoir une couple de cents âmes, sans compter l'équipage.

(1) Jobart qui devait être du voyage ne figure sur la liste qu'en qualité de fournisseur de fonds.

(2) Il est probable que Jeanne Vauvilliers qui épouse le notaire Benigne Basset, en novembre 1659, était aussi du voyage et de ce groupe.

VI.

Profitons du temps que nos colons s'installent le mieux qu'ils peuvent dans le *Saint-André*, pour nous faire une idée de ce que pouvait être un voyage sur l'Atlantique, à cette époque. Dans ce but, nous recourrons à la plaquette: *Voyages et passagers de jadis* par ce puissant évocateur du passé qu'est M. Gustave Lenôte.

On y voit, par exemple, que la cuisine à bord des voiliers "y était rudimentaire," que c'était "ordinairement le moindre des matelots et souvent un mousse qui était chargé du soin de préparer le manger" et qu'on "imagine bien qu'il était très ignorant et surtout très malpropre."

Nombre de passagers "se munissaient de provisions pour toute la durée de la traversée et s'occupaient eux-mêmes de préparer leurs repas... Il était prudent de se pourvoir de nourriture pour plusieurs mois; de l'eau douce, du pain, des oeufs conservés dans la graisse fondue, des fruits, des poules, des moutons et des cochons vivants... dont le passager avait soin lui-même...."

"En pleine mer, que de déboires! La houle, les vents contraires, le calme plat qui immobilise "l'hôtellerie flottante," consterne l'équipage oisif et épuise les provisions. En peu de jours, le pas-

sager quelle qu'ait été sa prévoyance est réduit à partager le dur biscuit des marins et à bouillir dans l'eau de mer, ses conserves de pois secs qui refusent de s'amollir à la cuisson; il faut jeter avec eux, dans la marmite, un boulet de canon de deux livres que le roulis met en mouvement comme un pilon et qui les broie; dans la cabine commune, où l'on s'abrite par les mauvais temps, l'atmosphère est étouffante et fétide....et l'on allait ainsi, à la merci de la brise, avec le vague espoir d'arriver un jour, on ne savait quand, on ne savait où..."

VII.

Le navire en partance, au mois de juillet 1659, "avait servi pendant deux ans d'hôpital aux troupes de la marine sans avoir fait depuis de quarantaine; il se trouvait infecté de la peste; et à peine fut-il en mer, que la contagion se déclara et gagna" successivement tous les passagers.

"Huit ou dix personnes furent enlevées tout d'abord," dit l'abbé Faillon, (1) et il ajoute ail-

(1) *Hist. de la Col. franç.*, II, 355. C'est la famille de Mathurin Thibaudeau qui fut la plus éprouvée dit la Soeur Bourgeois dans un passage pathétique de ses mémoires, car de six êtres qu'elle se composait au départ, il ne resta que le père et la mère. V. Faillon. *Vie de la Soeur Bourgeois*, I, 128-9.

leurs qu'il en mourut à terre; notre relevé démontrera que le nombre des décès doit s'élever à dix-huit environ.

"Cette maladie pestilentielle ne fut pas la seule épreuve qu'on eut à souffrir dans la traversée qui dura plus de deux mois. Le navire essuya les plus furieuses tempêtes et fut en danger évident de périr..."

Pour comble, "on eut encore à souffrir de la disette d'eau douce jusqu'à ce qu'on fut entré dans le fleuve Saint-Laurent." (Faillon, H. C. F., II, 355-356).

VIII.

Le 7 septembre 1659, le funeste navire jetait l'ancre devant Québec, mais l'heure étant avancée, on ne débarqua que le lendemain.

M. l'abbé de Queylus, qui attendait des nouvelles de cette recrue depuis un mois, à Québec, dut être fort impressionné à la vue de ces malheureux presque tous malades ou convalescents et dont il fallut remplir l'hôpital de Québec. Les mieux portant se logèrent dans cette maison qu'on nommait le "magasin de Montréal" et qui n'était autre chose qu'un entrepôt où l'on plaçait, en attendant leur transport par petits bateaux, les marchandises et articles à destination de Villemarie.

Une "partie de la recrue s'embarqua avec la soeur Bourgeois" et parvint à Villemarie le 29 septembre 1659, juste un an après le départ des "Montréalistes."

Les Hospitalières de St-Joseph étaient retenues à Québec parce qu'elles n'avaient pas la permission d'aller plus loin. Finalement, Mgr de Laval les laissa monter le 2 octobre.

Trois semaines plus tard, Mesdemoiselles Mance, Gauchet et de Belestre étaient suffisamment rétablies pour continuer leur voyage jusqu'ici.

IX.

Mais le *Saint-André* n'avait pas fini son rôle. Il apportait dans ses flancs, une volumineuse correspondance, parmi laquelle se trouvait une lettre de cachet contre l'abbé de Queylus et deux autres sulpiciens. Cette lettre devait mettre fin au désaccord qui existait entre Mgr de Laval et l'abbé Queylus au sujet de la juridiction de l'archevêque de Rouen, en ce pays.

Après avoir délibéré, Mgr de Laval chargea le gouverneur d'Argenson de signifier cette lettre à Montréal et pour cela le gouverneur se fit accompagner d'une escouade de soldats qui ramena M. de Queylus et les deux autres abbés à Québec. (Faillon, H. C. F., II, 346, et Vie de la S. Bour., I, 139).

Dernier coup du sort, le 26 octobre 1659, (1) le *Saint-André* reprenait la route de France, ayant à bord cet abbé de Queylus qui avait le plus généreusement contribué à lui procurer sa "cargaison."

X.

A la lecture de la liste annotée on remarquera que sur onze adultes et cinq enfants, nous n'avons aucun renseignement, c'est-à-dire que malgré nos nombreuses recherches il nous a été impossible de trouver trace de leur existence parmi nous.

Si l'on se rappelle que, durant la traversée, 8 à 10 personnes furent ensevelies dans l'océan et que d'autres moururent à leur arrivée à Québec, il est permis de conjecturer que ce sont là les noms de ceux qui payèrent de leur vie, l'étrange incurie qui laissa un âpre armateur parquer des êtres humains dans un vaisseau infecté.

Ces victimes d'une négligence coupable furent, selon toute probabilité: les sieurs Imbert et de la Place, soldats, Fonteneau beau-père de Bailly, Jacques Marsteau, Jacques Berriau, Antoine Huet, Richard Pajot, Jacques Bonnin, André Tériault, Pierre et Marie Guiberge, Marguerite

(1) L'embarquement s'était fait le 22, cependant. Faillon, II, 350.

Martin, Jacques, Marguerite, Jeanne et Catherine Thibaudeau.(1)

XI.

Ainsi qu'il est arrêté dans l'acte fait à la Rochelle, les colons de Melle Mance s'engageaient à la rembourser au bout de deux années. Pour une cause ou une autre, le délai fut prolongé considérablement, puisque ce n'est qu'en 1669—dix ans après—que Melle Mance leur remet une quittance définitive devant Maître Basset.

Et c'est là le dernier épisode de l'histoire de cette recrue mémorable dont plusieurs de ses membres, par eux-mêmes ou leurs descendants, occupent une place éminente dans nos annales.

(1) A cette liste il faut ajouter les noms de Jacques Métivier et Madeleine Fabreque qui décèdent peu après leur arrivée à Montréal.

ESTAT DES HOMES FEMMES ET FILLES QUI PASSERENT A MONTREAL EN 1659.

(Transcription et annotations par E.-Z. Massicotte).

Soldats pour le fort

- (1) Monsr. de Belaistre
- (2) Mr. de Rouvré
- (3) Mr. Imbert
- (4) Mr. de la Vigne
- (5) Mr. Briiat
- (6) Mr de La Place

Pour Monsieur L'abbé de Queylus

- (7) Monsieur le Maistre prestre

(1) Pierre Picoté de Belestre deviendra chef d'une famille fameuse. Sa femme, Marie Pars ne semblent pas être venue, cette année.

(2) Julien de Rouvray, Sr des Moétiers, faisait encore partie de la garnison en 1662.

(3) Aucune trace ici. Probablement mort durant le voyage.

(5) Claude de Brijeat, Brigeat, Brigard ou Brigeart, suivant les manuscrits. Dans son acte de décès, on le dit grenadier et secrétaire de M. de Maisonneuve. Pris par les Iroquois le 25 octobre 1661 et brûlé. La forme Brigeac, semble être une erreur des copistes quoiqu'en dise l'abbé Faillon, II, 505, car il ne faut pas oublier que la lettre de ce martyr, reproduite dans la Relation de 1660, a été écrite de la main gauche et qu'on n'en connaît que la transcription.

(6) Voir note 3.

(7) Abbé Jacques Le Maistre, tué par les Iroquois le 29 août 1661, à l'âge de 44 ans.

- (8) Monsieur Vignal prestre
- (9) françois bailly Mre. masson
- (10) le beaupère dudict bailly
- (11) CLaude fezeret Mre serrurier
- (12) Le fils dudict fezeret serrurier
- (13) Jehan Condar masson (En marge: "Il sest caché")
- (14) André bouvier masson (En marge: "Il sest caché")
- (15) Gilles de Vainne masson
- (16) Jacques Metivier masson
- (17) Jacques Marsteau masson
- (18) Mathurin Marsteau masson
- (19) Jacques berriau masson
- (20) Estienne trutault charpentier

(8) Abbé Guillaume Vignal, tué par les Iroquois le 25 octobre 1661.

(9) Devint huissier et sergent royal à Montréal. Sep. en 1690.

(10) Devait se nommer Fonteneau. Voir note 3.

(11) Venu avec sa femme et son fils.

(12) Agé de 17 ans. Se marie en 1670.

(13 et 14) Les mots en marge de ces deux noms semblent indiquer que ces individus refusèrent de partir. D'ailleurs on ne trouve pas leurs traces ici.

(15) Gilles de Vennes dit Chagnolle et Chagnollet. Etait âgé d'environ 46 ans. En 1667, il est domestique de la veuve de Jacques Testard.

(17) Voir note 3.

(18) Dans les actes publics, ici, il est nommé Marsta. Il se marie en 1665.

(19) Voir note 3.

(20) Ancêtre des familles Truteau et Trudeau. Se marie en 1667.

- (21) Jullien Averti serrurier
- (22) Jacques le prestre fendeur de boys Et défricheur
- (23) Pierre Nepveu fendeur de boys Et defricheur
- (24) René Moreau defricheur
- (25) Estienne hardouin defricheur
- (26) Mathurin Rouillé defricheur
- (27) Monsieur Vignal luy mesme Noel legal menuisier
- (28) Gabriel de Ree
- (29) Anthoine huet defricheur

Pour les hospitalières

- (30) René Cullerier defricheur
- (31) Jean Celier defricheur et boulanger

-
- (21) Averty ou Adverty dit Langevin. Sep. à Laprainie en 1687.
 - (22) Tué par les Iroquois le 25 octobre 1661.
 - (23) dit la Verdure. Etait à Montréal en 1666.
 - (24) Agé de 19 ans. Figure au recens. de 1666.
 - (25) Possédait une terre en 1665.
 - (26) Est mort ici en 1666.
 - (27) On croit comprendre ici que l'abbé Vignal paye le passage de Legal. Ce dernier se noie le 15 mai 1660.
 - (28) Massacré par les Iroquois le 29 août 1661, à l'âge de 41 ans.
 - (29) Voir note 3.
 - (30) Cullerier dit Leveillé. Fameux voyageur et traiteur. Ancêtre des Cuillerier-Beaubien.
 - (31) ou Cellier. Etait encore chez les Hospitalières en 1661.

Pour M. de St. André

- (32) Luy mesme.
- (33) Michel bouvier masson

Pour Madelle. Marguerite bourgeois

- (34) Richar paiot

Pour Madelle. Mance

- (35) Urban Graveline
- (36) Robert perroy
- (37) Jacques bonnin
- (38) Pierre Moreau
- (39) André teriault
- (40) Gregoire Simon

(32) Claude Robutel, Sr de Saint-André. Arrivé en 1653. Retourne en France en 1658 et revient marié. Voir note 83.

(33) Etait ici depuis 1653. Ne fit que le voyage. Epouse la veuve Guiberge en 1663. Voir note 100.

(34) Voir note 3.

(35) Urbain Baudereau dit Graveline. Arriva en 1653. N'a dû faire que le voyage. Epouse une fille de Blaise Juillet en 1664. Fut syndic de Montréal, de 1663 à 1667.

(36) Etait encore à Montréal en 1667.

(37) Voir note 3.

(38) Inhumé à Montréal le 21 janvier 1661, à l'âge de 18 ans.

(39) Voir note 3.

(40) Se marie à Montréal en 1668.

- (41) pierre perusseau
- (42) Noel Davignon
- (43)Magne

Pour Monsieur Vignal

- (44)Le picart menuisier
- (45) Thomas Mousnyer

Pour les familles de Maran Madlle. Mance

- (46) Olivier Charbonneau
- (47) Simon Cardinau
- (48) Jacques Cardinau
- (49) Jehan Cardinau
- (50) Pierre Goyer
- (51) Jehan Roy

(41) Dit Tapeas ou Tapcas. Marié en 1666.

(42) Etait ici en 1660.

(43) Probablement un des Magnan, Maignein ou Meignien qui figurent dans les actes peu après.

(44) Doit être le surnom de Noel Legal, et dans ce cas, il serait inscrit deux fois. Voir plus haut note 27.

(45) Nommé Monnier à Montréal. Sep. à Lachine en 1708.

(46) Sep. en 1687 à la Pte-aux-Trembles.

(47) Nommé Cardinau ordinairement. Sep. à Lachine en 1679.

(48) Fils du précédent. Etait alors âgé de 5 ans.

(49) Fils de Simon; âgé alors de quelques mois.

(50) Tanguay le nomme Goguet. Pris par les Iroquois en 1661, il réussit à s'échapper. Sep. en 1684.

(51) Surnommé Le Roy et Roy du Marans dans quelques actes. Fut sergent du baillage de Montréal. Sep. à Lachine en 1676.

- (52) Mathurin tibaudeau
- (53) Jacques tibaudeau
- (54) Pierre Guiberje
- (55) Elie Beaujehan
- (56) Estienne Cougnon
- (57) des moulins
- (58) Le nepveu de desmoulins

Pour Monsieur Souart

- (59) Jehan Renou defricheur
- (60) Jehan Martineau defricheur
- (61) Jullien belois defricheur
- (62) Anthoinne Courtemanche defricheur

(52) Vint avec sa femme, son fils et 3 filles. Tous ses enfants sont fauchés par la maladie. Il était ici en 1666. Voir note 99.

(53) Fils du précédent. Voir note 3.

(54) Voir note 3.

(55) Agé d'environ 33 ans. Vient avec sa femme et sa fille.

(56) Beau-frère du précédent. Était âgé de 15 ans. Son vrai nom est Antoine Coignon. Il figure aux recens. de 1666 et 1667.

(57) Pierre de Lugerat, dit des Moulins. Le recensement de 1666 et Tanguay le nomment de Ligeras!

(58) Probablement Antoine Renaut, son beau-fils. Il était ici en 1666. Voir note 102.

(59) Agé de 21 ans. Il est ici en 1667.

(60) Il est possible que ce soit lui qui se marie à Québec en 1662. (Tanguay, I, 417).

(61) Bloys, ou Blois, dans les actes de Montréal. Marié en 1665.

(62) dit Jolicoeur. Marié en 1663.

FEMMES ET FILLES

Les hospitalieres de St Joseph

(63) La mere Judith Moreau de bresolles
superieure

(64) Soeur Catherine Macé

(65) Soeur Marie Maillet

(66) Marie polo leur servante

Pour Madelle. Mance

(67) Mademoiselle Mance

(68) Madelle belastre

(69) Suzanne du Verger

(70) francoise du Verger

(63) Originnaire de Blois. Décédée en 1687, âgée de 76 ans.

(64) Originnaire de Nantes. Décédée en 1700, âgée de 81 ans.

(65) Décédée en 1677, âgée de 78 ans.

(66) Quelques auteurs la disent soeur converse; cependant le 25 novembre 1659, elle épouse Daniel Panier. Cette famille retourne en France vers 1677.

(67) Fondatrice de l'Hôtel-Dieu.

(68) Périnne Picoté de Belestre, soeur de Pierre. Tanguay fait une erreur curieuse à son sujet, car à six lignes de distance (I, 403) il la dit fille de François de Belestre et de son frère Pierre. Elle épouse Michel Godefroy de Linetôt.

(69) Ses parents quoique français demeuraient à Londres. Elle épouse M.-A. Galibert en 1660.

(70) Soeur de la précédente. Mariée à S. Galbrun en 1659.

- (71) Catherine Marchant
- (72) Therese le breil
- (73) Catherine lotier
- (74) Anne You
- (75) Denize le Maistre
- (76) Catherine Charles
- (77) francoise Saunier

(71) Venait de la paroisse St-Sulpice, faubourg St-Germain, Paris. Elle épouse Laurent Archambaut.

(72) Louise-Marie-Thérèse; elle signe Le Breuil. Le recens. de 1666 la nomme Dubreuil. Elle fait un cont. de mariage avec S. Vacher dit St-Julien le 3 oct. 1659, mais son futur s'étant fait tuer le 26 oct. 1659, elle épouse Marin de Niau le 24 nov. 1659. Elle venait de la paroisse de Sougeal, diocèse de Dol, Bretagne.

(73) Venait de la rue Ste-Marguerite, paroisse St-Sulpice, faubourg St-Germain, Paris. Le 25 nov. 1659, elle épouse Adrien Leger.

(74) Elle signe *iou*. Les actes la nomme Hiou et Hioux; devient soeur Ste-Claire dans la Cong. N.-D.

(75) Fait d'abord contrat de mariage avec André Heurtebize le 5-10-59, mais le mariage n'eut pas lieu et elle épouse le 26 janvier 1660, Pierre Peras. Venait de rue St-Antoine, paroisse St-Paul, Paris.

(76) Tanguay et son acte de mariage la font venir de Charenton, St-Maurice. Dans son contrat de mariage ses parents sont dits demeurer en la paroisse St-Germain, diocèse d'Angers, en Anjou. Elle épouse le 25 octobre 1659, Urbain Geté, ancêtre de Sir L. A. Jetté. Par erreur, Tanguay a fixé ce mariage au 26 janvier 1659.

(77) Venait de la rue des Cannettes, paroisse St-Sulpice, faubourg St-Germain, Paris. Elle se marie sous le nom de Duverdier le 20 oct. 1659 à Pierre Lorrin, puis en 1686 à Jean Roy sous le nom de Saulnier.

Pour Madame. Marguerite bourgeois

- (78) Elle mesme
- (79) Aimée Chastel
- (80) Catherine Croleau
- (81) Marie Raisin
- (82) Madlle Gauchet

Pour Monsr de St André

- (83) Madlle. de St André
- (84) Thoinette Salton

Pour Odiau dict la fleche

- (85) Marie Mousnier fem'e dud. Odiau

(78) Fondatrice de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame. Elle avait ouvert la première école le 30 avril précédent, 1658, et non 1657, comme je l'ai déjà écrit sur la foi d'une assertion non contrôlée.

(79) Le 3 avril 1661 elle s'engage *pour la vie* à Dame Veuve Louis Dailleboust, par devant Basset qui la nomme Edmée Chastel.

(80) Ou Crolo. Devint soeur St-Joseph de la Cong. N.-D. Originnaire de Lorraine. Décède en février 1699 âgée de 85 ans.

(81) Originnaire de Troye. Soeur de Cong. N.-D. Décède le 5 oct. 1688.

(82) Catherine Gauchet de Belleville, cousine de l'abbé Souart; avait alors 11 ans. Epousa en 1665, Migeon de Branssat (et non Bransac). Elle venait de la paroisse de St-Sulpice de Paris. C'est en souvenir d'elle qu'un de ses enfants prit le nom de Migeon de la Gauchetière.

(83) Elle signe: Suzanne de Gabriel, âgée alors de 35 ans.

(84) Elle signe Alaton. Les actes notariés la nomment Estienne Alton. Se marie en 1760 avec M. Heurtebise.

(85) Elle signe Le Monnier. Vint avec sa fille.

(86) la fille dud Odiau

Pour Monsieur de Queylus

(87) la fem'e de françois bailly Mrs. masson

(88) la fem'e de CLaude Fezeret Mrs serrurier

*Pour l'habitation envoies par le Sr de La
Dauversiere*

(89) Magdelainne fabrecque

(90) Isabel Camus.

(91) Marguerite Rebours

(92) Marguerite Martin

(86) Urbaine. Son père, surnommé Lafèche, est nommé Odiet, Odiau ou Audiau, suivant les actes. Tanguay écrit Hodiau dit Lafosse reproduisant une erreur du recensement de 1666. Elle épouse U. Brossard en 1660.

(87) Marie Fonteneau. Sep. en 1692.

(88) Suzanne Guilbault, 42 ans. Sep. en 1672.

(89) Décéda peu après son arrivée à Montréal en 1659.

(90) Venait de rue St-Denis, paroisse St-Sauveur, Paris. Son père était marchand. Elle épouse Louis Guertin le 21 oct. 1659. Tanguay, I, 288, fait deux erreurs en plaçant son mariage au 21 janvier 1659, et en disant que son père était médecin. Cette erreur de date se retrouve dans l'excellente Histoire de St-Denis sur Richelieu, par l'abbé Allaire, page 146.

(91) Son père marchand et bourgeois demeurait rue Mouffetard, paroisse de St-Médard, faubourg St-Marcel, Paris. Elle épouse P. Raguideau en 1659.

(92) Voir note 3.

- (93) *Pour Monsieur Jobart*
(94) la fem'e de Jaques beauchamp

Pour les familles de Maran Madelle Mance

- (95) la fem'e Et la fille de Charbon'eau
(96) la femme de Cardineau
(97) la femme Et la fille de Goyer
(98) la femme de Roy
(99) la femme Et 3 filles de tibiaudeau
(100) la fem'e Et 2 filles de Guiberge

(93) Claude-Antoine Jobart. Etait ici de 1657 à sept. 1658. Réapparaît en octobre 1659.

(94) Marie Dardeine ou Dardaine ou Dardenmes, 23 ans. Son mari dut venir en même temps, car il ne commence à figurer dans les actes qu'en octobre 1659.

(95) Marie-Marguerite Garnier et Anne Charbonneau sa fille, âgée de 2 ans.

(96) Michelle Garnier. Epouse Jean Chevalier en 1680.

(97) Louise Garnier et Marie Anne Goyer.

(98) Françoise Bouet. Epouse Alexis Buet, en 1677.

(99) Catherine Aurard. Les 3 filles se prénomment Marguerite, Jeanne et Catherine. La plus jeune fut amenée malade jusqu'à Montréal par la Soeur Bourgeois et elle y mourut. Voir notes 52 et 53.

(100) Mathurine Desbordes et Marie et Jeanne Guiberge. Celle-ci épouse Cabazié en 1669, quant à l'autre elle dut mourir avant son arrivée ici. La veuve Guiberge se marie en 1660 avec Bessonnet, un bigame, et leur mariage ayant été déclaré nul, en 1663, elle convole aussitôt avec Michel Bouvier.

(101) la femme Et la fille de beaujean

(102) la fem'e de des moulins

CONTRAT ENTRE MLLE MANCE ET
DIVERS COLONS

Par devant Le Notaire Royal gardenottes hereditaire en la Ville et gouvernam' de la Rochelle soubzsigné furent presens en leurs personnes chacuns de Ollivier cherbonneau Laboureur a bras, et marie Garnier Son espouse, Simon cardinaud et michelle garnier Son espouse, Pierre Goyer et louise garnier Son espouse, Jean Le-Roy & francoise bouet son espouse, Mathurin Thibaudeau & catherine orart Son espouse, Jean Racaud & renée bouet son espouse Pierre guiberge & Mathurine desbordes son espouse helie Bojan Et Suzanne cougnon son espouse, Tous demeurans en cette Ville de la Rochelle Lesd femmes chacune de son mary auctorizée pour leffect des presentes Tous Lesquelz Sus nommez Se sont adressez Vers & a La personne de damoiselle

(101) Suzanne Coignon et Suzanne Beaujean âgée d'environ 2 ans.

(102) Jeanne Crepeau, femme de Lugerat dit Desmoulins, veuve de Guillaume Renaut, elle devait être accompagné de son fils Antoine Renaut, alors âgé de 11 ans. Voir note 58.

Jeanne Mance demeurante en l'Isle de montreal
pais de la nouvelle france en canada estant de
presan en cette Ville a ce presente & acceptante
en personne et laquelle Ils ont declaré quayant
pris dessein desaller habiter avecq Leurs fa-
milles en laditte Isle de Montreal, Ils en sont
empescher pour navoir Le moyen de payer Leurs
passages aud pais, Et Lont prié et requise de
Voulloir Tant les obliger de payer le passage de
chacun deulx offrant en ce cas Luy rendre et res-
tituer les sommes cy apres dans deux ans dhuy
prochains Venants chacun a leur esgard & cha-
cun desd maris a leurs femmes sollidairement
Un seul pour le Tout aux renonciations a ce re-
quises, Ce quy a esté accepté par lad damoiselle
mance Au moyen de quoy Lesd Ollivier Cherbon-
neau & marie garnier Son espouse Se sont obli-
gez comme dit est de payer, au terme cy dessus
speciffie La somme de cent Soixante et quinze
livres tournois pour Leur passage de cette Ville
au lieu de quebecq au dict pais de la nouvelle
france Tant pour eulx que pour anne cherbon-
neau leur fille, Ledict Simon cardinault et mi-
chelle garnier Son espouse La somme de deux
cens Vingt cinq livres tournois aussy pour Leur
passage de cetted Ville Jusques audit lieu de
quebecq Et de Jacques & Jean cardinault leurs
enfants, Le dict pierre Goyer et Louise garnier

Son espouse la somme de cent soixante quinze Livres pour leur passage Et de marie Goyer leur fille Jusques audit Lieu de quebecq, Ledict Jean Roy et francoise bouet Son espouse La somme de cent cinquante livres tournois pour leur dit passage Jusques aud.' lieu de quebecq Lesd Mathurin Thibaudeau & catherine aurard Son espouse la somme de trois cens cinquantes Livres pour leur passage Et de catherine Jeanne margueritte & Jacques Thibaudeau leurs enfans Jusques audit Lieu de quebecq, Lesd' Jean racaud et Renée Bouet son espouse La somme de deux cens soixante & quinze Livres pour leur passage Jusque audit Lieu de quebecq Et de marguerite & Jeanne racault leurs filles, Et d'Antoine Pelletreau fils de lad bouet, Lesd Pierre guiberge & Mathurine desbordes Son espouse La somme de deux cens Vingt cinq Livres pour leur passage Jusques audit lieu de quebecq Et de Jeanne & Marie Guiberge les enfans Et Lesd helie beojan & Suzanne cougnon son espouse La somme de deux cens Vingt cinq Livres pour leur passage Jusques aud quebecq de Suzanne beaujan Leur fille & d'Anthoine cougnon frere de lad cougnon Plus les susditz sobligent comme dessus de payer & restituer alad damoiselle mance dans lesusdict terme La somme de cent quatre Vingt dix sept livres huit solz que

lad damoiselle a paye a leur acquit a daniel Guerry hoste demeurant en cette Ville au logis de la grace de dieu pour leur despence Et pour avoir chacun Un coffre a mettre leurs hardes Savoir Lesd charbonneau et sa femme Trente Une livres douze Solz Six deniers Lesd Thibaudeau & sa femme Trante six livres dix solz Lesd Simon cardinault et sa femme Trante une livres neuf solz Lesd Roy & sa femme Vingt une livres huict solz Lesd helie beaujean & sa femme Vingt trois Livres huict solz Lesd pierre Goyer & sa femme Vingt quatre livres neuf solz huict deniers, Lesd pierre Guiberge & sa femme Vingt deux Livres dix solz neuf deniers Et Lesd Racaud six Livres pour son coffre, Et outre Lasud Somme Ledit Racault & sa ditte femme payeront & restitueront a la ditte damoiselle dans le susdict Terme dix Livres quelle paiera pour eulx A pierre pots hoste dans la rue Saint nicollas Au moyen desquelles obligations Et de ce quilz Se sont obligez payera a lad damoiselle mance chacun à leur esgard sollidairement Un chacun deulx seul pour le tout Renoncans aux benefices de division dordre de droit & de discution de biens dans led terme cydessus Les susdittes sommes A quoy faulte de paiement Ils ont consenty & consentent estre contrainctz par toutes Veois douces Et raysonnables mesmes par emprison-

nement de leurs personnes, Laditte damoiselle mance Sest Vollontairement obligée de les faire passer de cette ditte Ville audit Lieu de quebecq dedans le navire nommé Le Saint andré Et leur faire fournir leur nourriture pendant led passage Seulement Et les acquitter & payer A leur acquit Les dittes sommes cy dessus Au Sieur Jacques Mousnier marchand demeurant en cette Ville Avecq Lequel Ils sont demeuréz daccord de payer lesd Sommes pour le dict passage, Sauf & Sans prejudice de ce quilz pourront debvoir pour le fret de leurs hardes Et Esquipages quy nest compris es dittes Sommes, Tout ce que dessus Lesd. parties L'ont Ainsy dit stipullé & accepté chacune a son esgard Promettant Respectivement entretenir garder et observer sans Jamais y contrevenir en aucune Sorte ny maniere ny maniere que ce soit a peine de tous despens dommages et Interestz Obligeans a ce faire Tous & chacuns Leurs biens meubles & Immeubles presents & futurs quelzconques Soubz Lobligation que dessus, Renoncans a toutes choses a ces presentes contraire dont de leur consentement & Vollonté Ils ont Jugez & condamnez par moyd? nore. du Jugeman & condannation de court ordinaire & presidialle de cour en Ville & gouverneman de la Rochelle au pouvoir & Jurisdiction de laquelle Ils se sont pour ce

Soubzmis & tous leursd biens, faict & passé a lad
Rochelle maison de residance dudit sieur mous-
nier Le cinquiesme Jour de Juin mil six cens cin-
quante-neuf apres midy presens Tesmoins a ce
requis Vincent Mocquer & Estienne Rousselot
clercs demeurans En cetted Ville Et ont Les dit-
tes parties excepte lad damoiselle mance Et ledit
Roy déclaré ne savoir signer de ce enquis sui-
vant Lordonnance Et ont signé a la minutte desd
presentes Jeanne Mance, J Roy, Mocquer E.
Rousselot, Et moy dit notaire Royal soubzsigné

Controlle (paraphe)

A Demontreau nore

(Note en marge du susdit acte:)

Noter que Racault sa femme et famille ne pas-
sent point et quil fault partant diminuer Sur la
Somme totale contenue au present contract deux
cens Soixante quinze Livres, ensemble dix livres
pour eulx paiez a pierre pots hoste comme appert
par acte passé par moyd nore en marge du con-
tract passé entre Le Sr mousnier & lad Damoi-
selle mance Le vingt Ve Juin 1659

Aujourdhuy est comparue par devant Le Not-
taire et tabellion de la terre & Seigneurie de

L'Isle de Montreal en la Nouvelle france, et Tes-
moings Soubzne. Damoiselle Jeanne Mance,
Creanciere Desnommée en L'oblgaon. de L'aue
part. Laquelle a Reconnu et Confessé avoir esté
Entierement Satisfaite des Sommes auxquelles
d'Ollivier charbonneau, Simon Cardinaux, Pier-
re Goguet, Jean Roy, Mathurin Thibaudeau, Ma-
thurine Desbordes Ve de feu Pierre Guiberge,
Elie Baujean habitans de Ce Lieu, Desbiteurs
Aussy y desnommez estoient obliges Luy payer
pour les Causès y mentionnées dont lad Damoi-
selle S'est tenue et tient pour Contenté et en a
quitté et quicte Lesd Debiteurs Sus nommez et
tous aues. dont quicte et Au surplus Consent y
que le present Greffe d'oblgaon. demeure en Les-
tude dud Nore. pour Plus grande Sureté desd
debiturs et pour y avoir Recours quand Besoin
Sera, Promettant obligeant Renoncant faict &
passé aud Montreal en la maison de la ditte Da-
moiselle L'an IVI Soixante neuf Le dix. Jour
de Novembre avant midy en pnce de Sieurs Jean
Gervaise & francois Bailly tesmoings y deme-
rant et subs. Avec Lad Damoiselle

Jeanne Mance

Basset

Nore.

(Transcription par E.-Z. Massicotte.)

UNE LETTRE DE MGR DE LAVAL.

*Avec des notes par O. M. H. Lapalice, archiviste
de la Fabrique de Notre-Dame.*



ES registres d'état civil de la paroisse de Notre-Dame de Montréal contiennent, adjacente au texte original, la lettre autographe suivante de l'Evêque de Laval, concernant une dispense du mariage de Jacques Lemoyne de Ste. Hélène et de Jeanne Carion du Fresnoy :

*“Monsieur Dollier superieur
Du seminaire De Montreal
A Montreal*

*A Quebec ce 12 ianuier 1684. .
Monsieur*

Monsieur De ste. heleine est fort propre a faire Des voyages De terre en diligence aussi Bien que par eau ie croyois quil Deust se Reposer icy quelques iours et voyla quil nous aduertit quil Doit partir il ny a personne qui ne Doiue prendre part a La Bonne fortune temporelle que la prouidence De Dieu (a ce que lon a tout suiet De croire) Luy a envoyé laquelle i'enuisage comme vnne Recompense De la fidelite que lon

ma tous iours temoigné qu'il a eu a ne point abuser De la traitte Des Boissons aux sauvages et Den vser avec crainte De Dieu ce qui faict que iay De la ioye De pouvoir contribuer quelque chose De ma part a l'heureux establissement que ie Luy souhaite et que i'espere s'il continue a viure Dans la crainte De nostre seigneur, ainsi Monsieur vous poués faire marier Monsieur De sainte helene quand Luy et sa famille le iugeront a propos Luy accordant la Dispense necessaire il ma neanmoins que iusques a ce quelle aye Douze ans accomplis (Dont il ny a sinq ou six mois De manque) il ne la congnoistra pas et qu'il la laissera entre les mains De Melle Le moine sa mere, ce nest pas que le sentiment le plus commun Des casuistes ne soit que lon peut congnoistre a l'exterieur De la grandeur et force De corps si elle sont nubilles auant Douze ans et quen ce cas ou lorsque "Malitia supplet aetatem" lon peut Donner la dispense et permettre De se congnoistre, or lon me tesmoigne que la fille Dont est question est grande et forte plus que son aage vous en pouues iuger et Monsieur guiotte mieux que moy ie vous laisse cela a conduire et Dire a Mr. De ste helene ce quil Doit faire, ie lay voullu laisser Disposer a ne la point congnoistre quelle naye atteint laage De douze ans mais en particullier vous Renuoyer a en dis-

poser De la maniere que vous treuveres plus a propos pour le Bien De lun et De lautre et vous les pourres asseurer que la Dispense que ie leur accorde sestend a executer ce que leur aura este prescrit. i'ay esté sensiblement touché De Lincendie (1) arrivée a nos Bonnes filles De la congregation mais particulièrement De la perte Des soeurs geneuiefue et marguerite (2) enue-lopées Dans l'incendie cestoit Des fruits meurs pour le ciel mais qui estoient Bien necessaires a cette communeauté, Les iugemens De Dieu sont Bien Differens De ceux Des hommes c'est pour- quoy il fault adorer les secrets De sa prouidence et sy sousmettre iescris un mot Bien a la haste a la Bonne soeur Marguerite Mr. le general (3) mayant emporté le peu De temps qui me Restoit ie nay que celuy De vous asseurer et tous vos chers Messieurs que ie seray cette année et celles qui suiuront et que nostre seigneur nous Donne- ra De vie De coeur et Daffection tout a vous.

francois evesque De Quebec.

il y a vn mois que mon pied commence a se Rou- urir il nest neanmoins quescorché et non pas en-

(1) Le 6 décembre 1683.

(2) Geneviève Durosoy, et Marguerite Sommillard, nièce de Mar- guerite Bourgeois.

(3) Lefebvre de La Barre était alors gouverneur de la Nouvelle- France.

cor en vlcere comme il a esté tout cet esté il y a grande Disposition pour cela la fluxion estant tousiours sur cette partie iespere Bien neanmoins auoir la consolation De vous voir.

nous auons faict icy vu service pour la Reyne il est apropos que vous fassiez le mesme au montreal et De lindiquer au prosne precedent. (1)

A cette lettre est aussi annexé le document suivant :

“Nous francois Dollier de Casson grand-uicair de Monseigneur Ljlustrissime et reuerendissime Euesque de Quebec, ayant ueu la dispense d'age que mon dit seigneur accorde a damoisele Jane du frenoy dite de Caryon en faveur de son mariage avec Monsieur de St. heleine, aynsy qu'il apert par une letre de sa grandeur a vous escrite en date du 12e Januier de la presente annee en laquele il y a quelque chose particuliere qu'il nous remet auons apres auoir pris aduis de Monsieur Guyot Curé de ce lieu apresent absent permis a elle de se marier tout anysny que si elle auoit déjà sa douzième année accomplye, et ny ayant eu que deux publication de faites nous auons donné dispense de la troisieme, comme

(1) Marie Thérèse d'Autriche, épouse de Louis XIV, décédé le 19 juillet 1683.

aussy nous auons nommé Messire Gabriel Souar ancien curé de ce lieu pour faire et celebrer le dit Mariage, et fin qu'il conste des dispenses cy dessus Marquee luy auons remis la letre de Monseigneur avec la presente declaration pour que tout soit ataché au registre ou sera escrit le susdit Mariage.

fait au Montreal le 1e feueurier 1684.

fran. dollier de Casson pre.

Le mariage fut celebré, en présence de Mr. Souart, le 7 Février 1684, ayant pour témoins, Charles Lemoyne de Longueuil, François Lemoyne de Bienville, frère de l'époux, Jacques Leber, tuteur de l'épouse, Louis Leber sieur de St. Paul, Jean Leber sieur du Chesne et Antoine Forestier chirurgien.

*Recensement religieux au Comté de Montréal
1825*

<i>Paroisses du Comté</i>	<i>Angl.</i>	<i>Presb.</i>	<i>Méth.</i>	<i>Univ.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Ep.</i>
1 <i>St. Jacques</i>	679	40	46	5	2	1	711
2 <i>St. Pierre</i>	102	2	2	1	1	1	107
3 <i>St. Louis</i>	675	1	3	1	1	1	711
4 <i>St. Jean</i>	1579	4	34	1	1	1	1579
5 <i>St. Laurent</i>	2181	22	71	1	1	1	2274
6 <i>St. Basile</i>	1377	2	9	1	1	1	1400
7 <i>St. Charles</i>	547	2	23	1	1	1	573
8 <i>St. Pierre</i>	1331	8	39	1	1	1	1379
9 <i>St. Pierre</i>	1040	79	269	1	1	1	1489
10 <i>Montreal</i>	18133	4157	3429	332	27	2	26154
<i>Total</i>	29177	4333	3925	337	30	2	37279
<i>(R.)</i>							
<i>Ep. au Comté</i>							
1 <i>St. Jacques</i>	2922	325	447	9	0	1	3614
2 <i>St. Pierre</i>	2776	1925	1095	122	2	40	5363
3 <i>St. Louis</i>	18524	2376	1887	201	25	16	22127
4 <i>St. Jean</i>	18133	4157	3429	332	27	2	26154

*Plus une copie des
Telles attestées au
1/2 et Comté de Montréal
par J. M. G.*

Recapitulatif
Comté
Chaque année
21977
5722
37279

*Copie au Comté de Québec
par J. M. G.*

THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

Third Series (1)

JULY 1913

Vol. X

REMINISCENCES OF OLD QUEBEC.

BY E. T. FLETCHER.

QUEBEC.

IMPERIOUS, throned above the blue expanse
Of flowing tide that laps the cliff, and slips
Past prisoned logs and chains of anchored ships,
Straining in leash for swift deliverance!
The Old ill brooks the New; old world romance
Invades the mart, breathes from the muzzled lips
Of war-dogs couchant on their curb, and drips
From blood-stained battlement. Anon, perchance,
From cloister-bell quaint summons tinkling flows,
Waking pale ghosts that flit in cowl and hood,
Or stately glide, or elank in grim array—
Dream-shades of vanished night. Morn, breaking, glows,
Flushing roof, spire and frowning gun in flood
Of sunlight, presage of a new-born day!

S. M. BAYLIS.

(1) The January and April numbers of 1913 were inadvertently printed "Fourth Series", instead of, as should have been done, Third Series.

IN THE year 1827, the Atlantic had not yet been traversed by steam-ships. Comfortable vessels, for passage, were not often to be met with. In the beginning of September, of that year, my father, having received an appointment in the Imperial Customs, embarked with his family on board the brig *Amethyst*, Capt. Thompson, of Gravesend, and arrived at Quebec in the middle of October; the voyage having lasted about six weeks. The little brig, of 250 tons, was an excellent sea-boat, but was dreadfully shaken, in mid-ocean, by contrary winds. From the frequent pitching the jib-boom was sprung three times, and as many times renewed. Our fellow-passengers were Captain J. W. Clemow, half-pay 41st. Regiment, H. Desrivières Beaubien, William Dunn, and A. L. Smith. With a feeling of intense relief we at length found ourselves in the River Saint Lawrence, and watched, when the river narrowed, the shifting and picturesque scenery on both sides. Finally, we dropped anchor before the Citadel of Quebec, on the evening of Saturday the 20th October.

The weather was fine and clear; the air soft and balmy: and the tin roofs of the city and suburbs shone brilliantly in the last days of the

setting sun. Wearied with our long and fatiguing voyage, we could appreciate, to the full, the fine panorama around us. To the East lay the green heights of Point Levis and the Island of Orleans: to the North, the Beauport shore, a western Bay of Naples, fading away in a curve of long perspective, with its line of white cottages, towards Montmorency and the Falls: while to the West and South extended the broad St. Lawrence with its forest of shipping, and the city itself, a maze of tin roofs, spires, and bastions, with the fortifications of Cape Diamond surmounting all. A splendid scene and one which has been many times described. As we stood on the deck, the Angelus rang from the churches, the military bugles sounded, darkness came, and the city seemed ablaze with lights. Some of the passengers went ashore and, returning, brought us specimens of the current coin. There were Spanish pistareens, half-crowns of the times of the Stuarts, and Mexican dollars. The copper pieces were of almost infinite variety, half-penny tokens, bank-coins, some again with Wellington's head on the obverse, and some with General Brock's. So came the night, clear and starlit, with innumerable ship-lights around, and no sound to be heard save the occa-

sional hail of seamen, and the rhythmic plashing of the waters.

The boarding-house of Mrs. McLaughlan, to which we then removed, was in Palace Street, two doors below the intersection of the Ste. Anlele, now McMahon Street. The corner house, since burned and re-built, was then occupied by Mr. William Wilson, of H. M. Customs. Our fellow lodgers were a Mr. Elliott and his two sisters, who had, like ourselves, a suite of rooms of their own. The next house below was Dr. Caldwell's, whose brother, then in Montreal, was also a Doctor and had attended my father, when wounded, in the West Indies. Lower down, showing a front of three windows on the first floor, was the residence of the Ross family, the original home of the present Hon. D. A. Ross, for several years my school-mate, both at Dr. Wilkie's and afterwards at the Grand Seminaire. Further down still, at the corner facing the old Arsenal, was the house of Dr. Painchaud, a worthy and somewhat eccentric practitioner of the old school. His son was also a school-fellow of mine at Dr. Wilkie's. Below the arsenal was Palace-Gate, since removed, and the *enceinte* of the city wall.

Palace Street was then, as now, one of the main thoroughfares of the town: and through

the gate there poured continuously a stream of vehicles from the outer parishes. After the snow fell, the scene was lively and striking, from the number of loaded sleighs laboring up the slope, with the habitant-drivers, clad in heavy homespun, with sash and *bonnet-rouge*. There was an incessant cracking of whips, and an urging on of their horses with cries of "*marche donc gris*," coupled with every form of vociferous adjuration. Intermingled with the procession was the "cariste" of ancient build, two-seated, short, and heavy, with a buffalo-robe in the hinder seat for the comfort of the travellers. In the intense cold of winter, the community dressed warmly, of course. Furs were universally worn. The ladies had bonnets and heavy muffs of marten and other costly skins. The men wore huge flat-topped caps, with ears, voluminous comforters, or skin boas, round the neck, and gauntlets of imposing dimensions on the hands; while the nether limbs were protected by thick black overalls, or wollen stockings, reaching above the knee, and terminating below in feet of cloth, strongly soled, these being drawn over the ordinary boot, fastened with a buckle at the instep, and a sort of garter under the knee to prevent them slipping down. The over-coats were short in those days, which made the protection

of the lower limbs the more necessary. In severe weather the cheeks and nose were often frozen. This happened frequently to the sentinels at the city-gates. In general, as soon as the fatal white spot appeared on the face, the victim was at once informed of the fact by the passers-by, some of the more zealous even rushing up with a handful of snow and commencing to rub vigorously the part affected, with the hasty explanation: "your nose is frozen, sir!"

Round the corner just above, on the South side of Helen (now McMahon) Street, was the Natural History Museum of M. Chassé, subsequently removed to the Parliament-building, near Prescott Gate. Nearly opposite us, but a little higher up, was the dry-goods store of Henry Trinder and Horatio Carwell, and between that and St. John Street was (and is) the large building known as the Albion Hotel, and occupied, as such, by Messrs. Payne, Hoffman, and Kirwin, successively. Opposite to this, on Palace Street, was the dry-goods store of Robert Symes, known, for many years, as an active and useful justice of the peace: and on beyond, at the corner of St. John Street, at the level of the ground floor, stood the celebrated wooden figure of General Wolfe, life-size, and in full regimentals, now exalted to the second story. A

short distance West of this corner, and on the same side, was Mailhot's Hotel, then the property of Chief Justice Sewell. It has disappeared, to make room for the lofty structure known as Casey's building. Here, in one of the upper rooms,—I have been assured by Mr. Casey himself,—the Hon. John A. McDonald and D'Arcy McGee often met, in later years, to spend a quiet convivial evening. One may imagine the flashes of wit and humor that illumined these Noctes Ambrosianæ?

Having been duly installed in December at the Rev. D. Wilkie's Classical School, in Garden Street, my daily walk lay along Palace, St. John, and Fabrique Streets, the market-place, and the close of the Anglican Cathedral, to the intersection of the Ruelle des Ursulines. Fabrique Street was at that time bounded on the South by a low wall and fence, separating it from the grounds of the "Jesuit's Barracks," a square of solid stone buildings formerly occupied by the Order of Jesuits, a corporation dissolved long ago by Papal edict, and, on the death of the last member, escheated to the Crown. These buildings were used thereafter as barracks and were demolished quite recently. On the other side of Fabrique Street was the bookstore of Mr. Horan, whose son was afterwards

R. C. Bishop of Kingston. It was here that we purchased our French school-books. At the intersection of St. Anne and Garden Streets, and on the West side of the latter, stood the building known subsequently as the Haymarket Theatre: and on its Northerly face was displayed, during my school-boy days, a painted wooden sign, representing the engagement of the Shannon and Chesapeake. In this theatre, a few years later, I saw the play of "Douglas" performed by the students of the Reverend Mr. Burrage's school. The Prologue was written by Mr. Fred. Collard. In it, speaking of the players, he asked: . . . Who will have the courage to intercede for them with Dr. Burrage?

This upper part of the building was subsequently utilized as a gymnasium by Dr. Hartney (Nov. 1835), and again as an Auctioneer's show-room for prints and engravings: it is now the Russell House. At the corner of the Ursuline lane and Garden Street was the well-known circulating Library, a fine collection of standard works in light literature, superintended by Miss Cary, a sister of Mr. Joseph Cary, afterwards Deputy Inspector General, and of Mr. Thomas Cary, proprietor of the Quebec Mercury. Mr. Wilkie's school was in Gardener Street, directly opposite this corner. My worthy

teacher had, at that time, as assistant, a Mr. Johnson. There was also a writing-master, whose chief occupation was the mending of pens, quills being then in vogue. Mr. Johnson was shortly afterwards succeeded by Mr. Peter Ramage, an excellent Latinist, and most kind hearted man, much liked and respected by the boys. Among the students, I recollect Jerry Leaycraft, an esteemed friend, son of a West Indian merchant, Richard Thorne, of Little St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, Charles C. Sheppard, son of the Hon. William Sheppard of Woodfield, J. Brauncis, a talented musician, and in 1832, master of the Quebec Artillery Band, D. McLean Stewart, son of Charles Grey Stewart, of H. M. Customs, David A. Ross, later a Member of the Quebec Government, James Greene, son of the Clerk of the Crown, T. C. Lee, afterwards a ship-builder, Joseph and William Morrin, sons of the Doctor, young Chapais, a prominent politician in later days, Robert Christie, son of the Member for Gaspé, James Lane, son of the Registrar, John Torrance, afterwards an Episcopal Clergyman, Daniel Wilkie, a nephew of the principal, and William Stott, a relative and adopted son of Captain Stott of Mount Pleasant, his original

name, Wilson, having been changed by royal permission.

I remember reciting, at the Xmas examinations of this school, in 1831, Anacreon's famous ode to a Carrier-Pigeon. Mr. A. Girod, the noted *littérateur* and republican, was present and expressed his satisfaction. In the following February, he read a paper, on the War of Independence in Columbia, before the Historical Society. A few years later, he took part in the conflict at St. Eustache, and, fleeing thence, he died by his own hand.

In May 1828, the family removed from town to Mount Pleasant, about a mile West of the City; having leased a small cottage on the South side of the Ste. Foy Road, and the first house beyond the toll-gate. It was subsequently occupied by Mrs. William Stevenson. Our landlord was Mr. James Hunt, the Wine-merchant. Mrs. Young lived opposite; afterwards, Mrs. Byng Gatty, and then the Lane family. Next to this, Westward, lived Mr. Bignell, at that time Postmaster, and subsequently Mr. E. Burroughs, prothonotary. The next house still farther Westward, was the residence of Mr. Snelling, D. C. G. In the next house to our own, on the West side, and separated from it by a small lane, lived, for some time, Mr. James Hastings

Kerr, son of of the judge, and afterwards, in succession, Mr. Wm. Newton, Mr. W. H. Griffin, of the Post Office Department, and Captain McDougall, of the 79th Highlanders. Here we remained for many years. We christened the house "York Cottage," my father having formerly served in the Royal York Rangers.

In the year 1832, I was sent, as a boarder, to the Grand Seminaire. Here I met with several young men who afterwards attained eminence. Among these were J. P. O. Chauveau, the Abbé Tanguay, and D. A. Ross. I belonged to the third class, in charge of Professor Normandeau, who afterwards seceded from his church and became a Protestant Minister. Our instructor in English, who came at stated hours, was Professor McDonald, co-editor of the *Québec Gazette*, an accomplished scholar and excellent linguist, afterwards had charge of the Establishment for the Deaf and Dumb, on the Esplanade Hill. I have in my possession the copy of Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered" which formerly belonged to him, and in which he has carefully noted some of the finest passages, among others the well known stanzas on the death of Clorinda. He had a theory, I recollect, that the terminals in the Genitive of English nouns was a contraction of the possessive pronoun "his."

The Rev. M. Briand, if I recollect right, was at that time Director, and the Rev. Mr. Holmes was *préfet des Etudes*. The latter was considered one of the finest pulpit orators of his day, and at the interment of Bishop Panet, who was buried in the adjoining parish-church in February, 1833, he was selected as the orator to pronounce the funeral sermon. I was present at this service: it was most impressive. The two choirs, answering each other, the antiphonal chanting, now sad and wailing, and now lofty and exultant, the immense multitude of people, and the swell of the great organ, rolling in thunder through the vast interior, as the body sank slowly through the apperture in the church-floor, all this, in its grandeur and solemnity, is a memory not to be forgotten. On Thursday, we generally took a walk outside, sometimes as far as the *Canardière*, on the Beauport Road,—always two by two, with a priest in charge. The hours of rising and retiring were of course early: and on a dark winter's morning it was anything but pleasant to be roused by the ecclesiastic of the dormintaire, with his "*Dominus vobiscum*," the signal for getting up, to which we were expected to respond with "*et cum spiritu tuo*." At meals, each four students made a "plat," acted as servitors, in succession. During the re-

past, one of the boarders read, from a sort of pulpit. In my day Crevier's Roman Emperors was the book selected. I entertain very pleasant recollections of my stay in this institution. As to the studies, "*militari non sine gloria*," obtaining a prize, and an "*accessit*," or certificate of good standing. On one occasion I made something of a hit by a string of verses on ancient Rome.

For this I was rewarded by being permitted to give the "*Deo Oratias*" next day, after the mid-day meal. Nor was my acquaintance limited to the routine teachers. As students of *Belles-Lettres*, David Ross and myself were often permitted to visit the Revd. Father McDonald, Professor of Theology, a most kind and genial man, who read to us many *chefs-d'oeuvre* of literature, and descanted on their beauties. Under his guidance we also refreshed our knowledge of Greek, which was not taught in the ordinary classes. I was sorry, indeed, when the time came to bid adieu to the worthy professor, and I felt that our pleasant evening "praelections" were at an end, and knew that I should hear no more his jovial laugh, or hear him inquire about "the news of the town."

Having left the Seminaire, and entered the arena of business as an Architectural student, I

resided with my father, for several years. On Sunday we attended Sewell's Chapel, built by Chief Justice Sewell, and for many years served by his son, Edmond Willoughby, who was ordained a priest in December, 1827. The latter married a daughter of Bishop Stewart, who preached here occasionally. He had a fancy for quoting from Tertullian. In rear of this building was the circus, afterwards known as the Theatre Royal. The original manager appears to have been a Mr. Blanchard. I was present, while yet a school-boy, at the performance of *Timour the Tartar*, a grand spectacular play, in September, 1830. A Miss Emery played *Zorilda*, and the role of *Timour* himself was taken by a Mr. Gale. This gentleman had a tremendous bass voice, a veritable "basso profundo," and his "*Zorilda, is it possible?*" was something to be remembered. The Circus was closed in May, 1831, by Mr. Page at that time manager. His last appearance was as *Scaramouchi*, in the pantomime of *Don Juan*. I see it noted in a diary that we all went to the benefit of Mr. West, a noted equestrian, who had leased the Mount Pleasant Hotel, in our vicinity. A proposition was now made to restore the Haymarket building to its former uses as a Theatre: the stage, in the Circus, being at an inconvenient distance

from the audience. In pursuance of this scheme, the requisite repairs and alterations were made, and the Haymarket now received the title of the New Theatre Royal. There, in the following August (1831), Charles Kean appeared as Duke Aranza in the "Honeymoon." I find it noted that the heat was intense! However, the Circus building seems to have been still preferred, for during September Kean played Shylock and Othello in the Old Theatre Royal, where, on the 1st of October, I saw him appear as Brutus in Howard Payne's tragedy of "Brutus or the Fall of Tarquin." It was a most thrilling impersonation. I can never forget the rich music of his voice, his terrific burst of energy in denouncing Slatius, or his pathetic remonstrance of his sons, calling on them to meet their death "with a more manly heart." Strikingly effective, too, was the closing tableau, where, on the signal being given that the execution had been carried out, he falls back, fainting, into the arms of his attendants, with the words,—“Justice is satisfied, and Rome is free.”

On this occasion, owing to the great depth of the auditorium, many respectable citizens preferred the parterre or pit. Among these I saw my reverend teacher, Mr. Wilkie, rapt in attention and lost in thought.

In this building I have seen some of the leading players of the age. In August, 1833, I saw Charles Kemble as Benedict, and his daughter Fanny as Beatrice, a piece of charmingly vivacious acting. On this occasion the former had something of an accident, which might have resulted in lameness. His foot passed through a stove-opening carelessly left open in the floor, and he limped in pain through the remainder of the play. In July, 1836, Mrs. Ternan, formerly Fanny Jarman, appeared as Ernestine in the melodrama of "La Somnambula," (not the Opera). The house was crowded; and in the profound silence which prevailed during the sleep-walking scene, the sobs of the fairer part of the audience were distinctly audible. In August, a star of genteel comedy, Mr. Dowton, (old Dowton), played in the School for Scandal, with Mr. Ternan as Joseph Surface. There also appeared Ellen Tree as Tan, Master Burke as Bombastes, and Clara Fisher as Helen in the Hunchback. All admirable artists. But perhaps the actor who impressed most forcibly was a Mr. Oxley, who played Othello in August of the following year (1837). In his wonderful personation of this character he seemed to invest it with a new charm. He rose to the full dignity of this matchless creation of Shakespeare, and carried

his audience with him, by the magic of his art, in that sympathetic awe and terror, which is of the very essence of Tragedy. Oh, the ecstasy, the anguish, the rapt attention, of that wondrous hour of enchantment! The highest poetry made a living actuality by the highest talent. Sixty years have now passed, but I have heard no syllable of Mr. Oxley since. Whither did he go? Where was his home? He was young then, and gifted with every grace of form and gesture. Perhaps he was stricken down with pestilence. Perhaps, disappointed in some deep-seated hope, he died in early manhood: waning away sadly from life, as a star in the heavens, bright for a time, that fades and disappears to be seen no more.

During the months of June and July, 1832, the Asiatic Cholera raged in Quebec. It was the first appearance of this scourge, and the alarm was general. Several families, carried away by the prevailing panic, left town for the country. Quack medicines of all kinds were advertised. Benevolent societies were formed. Special services were held in the churches. The guns of the grand battery were discharged, and pitch-boys sent up their dense clouds all round the *enceinte* of the fortifications. It was a terrible time of depression and anxiety. I shall

never forget the sweltering heat of those summer nights, or the sickly moonlight that seemed to overlie, as an evil persence, the doomed and sickly city. The disease was thought to be contagious. I have seen Dr. Skey wash his hands carefully, after feeling the pulse of a cholera patient. Many carried a piece of camphor in the corner of a handkerchief, as a prophylactic against possible infection. From morn till even, the solemn processions of the dead, buried in almost precipitate haste, passed through the silent streets: and from the churches there arose, from time to time, the sound of prayer, the wail of sorrow, the "*miserere*" of passionate entreaty. In the beginning of August, confidence began to return. The plague had spent its force. It had lasted only two months; but in those two months nearly two thousand victims had perished. This was about one in every fifteen, Quebec at that time having a population of thirty thousand, or about the same as Montreal.

There was a second appearance of cholera in 1834, during the summer months, but the mortality was not so great. I had the disease myself in the month of July. After the preliminary cramps, etc., I lay for a few days in a trance-like condition, and then rallied.

This visitation passed, the old town resumed

its wonted life and activity. St. John Street, the favorite afternoon promenade, again swarmed with people. In the narrow thoroughfares of the lower-town, the roll of business-vehicles recommenced, and above, within the walls, the streets were alive with the animated converse of passing throngs, while, here and there, a military uniform gave color and brightness to the scene. Among the notable Quebeckers of the time, I recollect Mr. Jeremiah Leaycraft, father of my old school-mate, and a man of most kindly and genial disposition, who frequently passed our house on his way to town. He wore a high shirt collar, suggesting, in later days, a resemblance to the portraits of Gladstone. Then there was Dr. J. Charlton Fisher, at one time editor of the N. Y. Albion, an eminent scholar and critic, faultless in attire, even to the canary colored kid-gloves he was wont to wear; Archdeacon Mountain, afterwards Bishop, tall, dignified, yet most gracious in demeanor; Mr. Wm. Patton, broad of chest, and with "Atlantean shoulders," for several years president of the St. George's Society, and a most worthy representation of his native land;—it was quite a picture to see him in the chair of the Society's dinner, with a huge baron of beef before him;—Father McMahon, a worthy and well-known se-

cular priest, always bright and pleasant; Mr. J. W. Woolsey, sometime president of the Quebec bank, brisk and active to the last, and dying in 1852 of extreme old age; Mr. Wm. Kemble, editor of the Quebec Mercury, stout and bulky, of high literary attainments, and related to the celebrated histrionic family of that time. Later on, the figures of Colonel Gagy and Stuart Derbyshire were conspicuous. The former was gazetted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in 1838. He was at that time a resident in Montreal, and subsequently moved to Quebec. Here he lived, for the most part, on his farm at Beauport, a few miles from the City. Having got into a dispute, as to boundaries, with his neighbor, a Mr. Brown, he invited me out, as a land-surveyor, to investigate the grounds of contention. I recollect attending the Court of Enquetes as his witness, and on my entry into the Court-room, was greeted by the Colonel with a loud and audible "Now F."

'On God and on your lady call,

'And enter the enchanted hall!'"

After years of litigation, in which he was his own advocate, he gained his case, and remarked that "'twas as long as the siege of Troy." On another occasion, having failed to keep an appointment with me, he exclaimed, with a drama-

tic attitude, when we next met,—“F.—have you forgiven me?” But all this light-hearted jocularity was a mere mask, assumed by a man of extreme urbanity and most polished converse. It was a pleasure to hear such exquisite English spoken with so rich intonation. Apart from his mother tongue, he spoke French, as was acknowledged, to perfection, and was familiar with the best Italian authors. Of temperate habits, he kept his health to the last. I saw him in the saddle a few weeks before his death: he was then over eighty, yet he bestrode his steed with all the ease and grace of an accomplished cavalier. At all times an excellent horseman, he shewed me, at Beauport, his stud of fourteen horses, any one of which, he said, would come at his call; and strongly reprobated anything like cruelty in the treatment of these intelligent animals. In emergencies, his prompt decision and energy were well-known. Once, when riding through the streets of Montreal, during the time of the rebellion, he came upon a gathering of the disaffected, who were being harangued by some furious demagogue. After listening for a few minutes, he seized the orator by the collar, and rode off, with the culprit hanging at his saddle-bow. At the affair of St. Eustache he was badly wounded by the rebels, who had taken refuge in

the church,—the last place, by the way, where one would expect to find them. In his law-suits,—and he had several,—he was now and then excited to volcanic bursts of emotion, and I have heard him make forcible allusion, in tones of thunder, to the “blood-hounds of the law.” He became a Member of the Legislature, and Ajujant General of the Militia. Yet with all his talents, his active disposition, and varied accomplishments, he seemed to the last, a disappointed man, seldom harmonizing with his fellows, standing somewhat apart from them, meeting adverse criticism with polished scorn. So, as time passed by, his declining years appeared to darken with a growing misanthropy and bitterness of soul, as if he inwardly resented the Nemesis of fate, and the unkindness of those with whom he was brought in contact.

Of a somewhat similar type, though of more convivial habits, was his contemporary, Stewart Derbyshire, a thorough man of the world, profoundly good-natured, of refined taste in art, an English gentleman of the old school, with a punctilious sense of honor, and its requirements. Something of a “gastronome,” he delighted in seeing his friends about him at dinner, and was wont to indulge in manifold “*sales et Gacetae*.” I recollect once, the conversation having turned

on Burns' song: "Willie brewed," and the lines: "Wha first beside his chair shall fa, he shall be king of all us three," he turned upon me with the query, "and by what title would he be king?"—"Why, sir, why?"—I gave it up. "*Jure de vîno*, of course."

Of the rebellion of 1837, '38, I have not much to say. The story has been told by others. Discontent had been for some time brewing, political grievances were said to exist, and the troubles were fanned into flame by unscrupulous demagogues. There was much destitution and misery in some of the lower districts. In the parish of Trois Pistoles alone, the Reverend Curé reported there were twelve hundred persons in a state of destitution. Indignation meetings were held at St. Ours, St. Laurent, Berthier, and elsewhere. Why these supposed wrongs should have led to an armed insurrection, it is hard to say; as all of them, or at least all that had any solid foundation, were removed by Statute some years later, and would doubtless have been rectified at an earlier date, but for this unfortunate outbreak. If rebellion be the last resort against unyielding tyranny, here, assuredly, there were no grounds of complaint at all commensurate with the extent and savage spirit of the rising. I may owe my neighbor a debt which is fairly due, but this

would scarcely justify him in trying to burn my house down and take my life. The revolt in Canada had been long meditated. The notorious Ninety-two Resolutions passed the Quebec House in March, 1834. In November following, Louis Joseph Papineau was elected for the West Ward of Montreal, amid immense excitement. I have conversed with those who saw him escorted to the polls by one of the hired bullies of his party, Montferrant, a man of huge bulk and stature. His address to the Electors was characterized by the London Morning Advertiser as a "mighty mass of words, every line of which breathed assassination, rebellion and treason." I heard the great agitator speak in the House, some time afterwards,—a man of fine presence, large-chested, with a clear, resonant voice, and great power of invective. Among the populace, the ill-feeling found vent in acts of violence. Stones were thrown at the barrack-windows, and several soldiers of the 79th Regiment were badly beaten. The same troubles occurred in Montreal. In February, 1835, the Collector of Customs at Quebec, Henry Jessop, having declined to transmit certain Returns to the House,—not feeling himself authorized to give them without the requisition of the Governor,—was imprisoned in the common jail, by warrant of

the Speaker. While in durance, he was visited by most of the leading men in town. He was released a month afterwards, at the close of the Session.

It is a relief to turn from these displays of civic rancour to the kindly interchange of good feeling between those of different creeds. At the close of 1835, a deputation of the Protestant inhabitants of the city waited on the Reverend Father McMahon, pastor of the newly-erected St. Patrick's Church, with a donation of upwards of £200, raised among themselves, to be applied as to the purchase of an organ. The Rev. Father, in terminating his reply said: "I shall conclude with the assurance that while I deeply appreciate this most generous donation, I am free to declare that I set an infinitely higher value on the good will and friendship of the generous donors." The charity of this good priest was indeed very active. He was the main arbiter and adviser of the Irish immigrants, who were then beginning to arrive in large numbers. I have many times seen him, on his doorsteps, giving audience to a crowd of applicants, encouraging some, censuring others, and with a word of good advice for every one. The Church was opened on the memorial day of the patron Saint. I recollect that the services concluded

with a vigorous singing of "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning," swelled by the accompaniment of the new organ.

About this time, the St. George's Society was formed and had its first anniversary dinner. Its meetings were held in Payne's Hotel, Palace Street, afterwards kept by the younger Hoffman. The first president was Mr. Wm. Price, who was succeeded, in 1837, by Mr. Patton. Both my father and myself occasionally attended these festive gatherings. I remember his singing "The Death of Wolfe"—("In a mouldering cave, where the wretched retreat")—and later on, after the arrival of the Coldstream Guards, Captain Mundy created something of a sensation, by singing the well-known Anacreontic,—

"But d...their eyes, if ever they tries,

"To rob a poor man of his beer."

Of a less pleasant nature were the public judicial punishments, which sometimes met the eye. In 1832, I saw, for the first and last time, in the market-place in front of the church of "*Notre Dame des Victoires*," in the Lower Town, a man in the pillory. There was a large crowd. No missiles were thrown, but the scene was sufficiently grotesque and humiliating. More serious were the scenes attendant on carrying out the death-sentence. The "Suitor" family, set-

tlers in Megantic, were tried in 1834 for murder, the outcome of some quarrels with their neighbors. Chief Justice Sewell, before whom the case was tried, remarked, in his charge to the jury, "that every accomplice was as guilty as though his finger were on the trigger." Some shockingly bad language on the part of the prisoners came out in the course of the evidence, and it seemed strange to hear the venerable judge, in his summing up, repeat all this with scrupulous accuracy. The defence of the elder Suitor, the father, was simply a rambling appeal for sympathy in view of the hardships of a settler's life. He and his two sons were found guilty, but the eldest son alone was executed. The sentence was carried out on the 4th of April. He held up well until the last moment, when his knees seemed to fail him. It was a pitiful sight. Develin, who was hanged two years afterwards, on the 8th April, also for murder, stood straight and immovable as a rock, from beginning to end. But the saddest of all these painful scenes was the death of young Meehan, in 1864, who had killed some associate in a quarrel. I was passing by at the time and saw it from below John Street. It was a bright clear morning in the early Spring (22nd March), and as the sun shone on the doomed man, I could see, though

some distance away, the breath rising from his lips, in the calm, cool air. A priest stood by his side, and offered the last consolations of religion. Then he spoke himself, and alluded, as we learnt afterwards, to his "doleful end." He was youthful and good-looking, and with a ruddy complexion and ingenuous countenance; and it seemed hard that the life of one who had scarcely entered on manhood should be thus abruptly closed by his fellow-men. When the priest left his side, poor Meehan collapsed utterly. He tottered, and his knees almost touched the scaffold. The Reverend Father, waving the executioner back, returned to him immediately, held him up, and sustained him; seeming to comfort and strengthen him with whispered words of encouragement. Leaving him then, Meehan met his fate calmly.

The disloyal feeling which, kept alive by the fostering care of their leaders, had smoldered so long throughout the length and breadth of the land, broke out into open revolt in 1837, after the closing of navigation. It was the year of the Accession, and much of the French Press teemed with the coarsest abuse of the youthful Sovereign. The well-affected part of the community took up arms. The aid of drill sergeants was invoked, and "awkward squads" were put

through their facings. The portly and corpulent merchants of the Lower Town went through the mysteries of the "goose-step," side by side with their juniors. The commercial clerks attended their offices for an hour in the morning, and afterwards went to drill. Ordinary business was suspended. The port being closed, munitions of war were rather scarce. The government armoury was ransacked for antiquated arms. The "Queen's pets," a body of merchant seamen, were supplied with horse-pistols of enormous size. Having myself to procure a sword on obtaining a Commission in the Engineer Rifles, in February, 1838, I had to content myself with a Dutch naval sword, not quite of regulation pattern. In Quebec, the services of the volunteers were mainly defensive, and confined to the city, although they offered to serve wherever wanted. On New Year's day, the entire volunteer force, mustering some three thousand men, marched through Grande Allée, De Salaberry Street, and the St. Foy Road. They were also frequently called on to furnish picquets at various points, sometimes at the Parliament House, and occasionally at the Citadel, as the regiments of the line had been sent West. The winter was cold and stormy, but there was always abundance of volunteers for sentries, or any outside duty.

On one occasion, after drill in the Cavalry shed, near the old Château, Captain Young informed us, that the weather being somewhat inclement, it was thought that the disaffected might possibly make a demonstration, and he invited all who were willing, to remain under arms all night. The entire company rushed forward with a ringing cheer. But the disaffected, in general, kept very quiet within the city, though there were isolated acts of violence. In November, Messrs. Caron, Lindsay and McCord were badly beaten on returning from a meeting of the Officers of the Volunteer Artillery, at the Albion Hotel, but there were no open displays, or ostentatious parades, such as those of the "Sons of Liberty," in the vicinity of Montreal. We heard of the great Rebel meeting at St. Charles, in October, where a column was erected, with an inscription, in honor of Papineau to which the young men marched in procession, laying their hands upon it, and swearing eternal fidelity to their country. This was rather an improvement on the youthful Hannibal of Carthage, swearing eternal enmity to Rome, as depicted in the great picture of Benjamin West. Some arrests were made in the city,—among others Mr. Legaré, the artist, and Mr. Chesseur, of the Museum, who were committed for sedition by that inde-

fatigable magistrate, Robert Symes. They were afterwards brought before the Chief Justice, and by him admitted to bail. The city gates were now closed, every night, at eight o'clock, and were kept shut till gun-fire in the morning, the wickets remaining open till later. The city banks, taking alarm, removed their Specie to the Citadel. Many private individuals, my father among the number, had much of their furniture carted within the city walls.

Among those who appear to have been in town about this time, was Mr. T. S. Brown, afterwards "General Brown," of the insurgent army, who fled before Wetherall at St. Charles. At least I found some of his books left for sale at Thomas Cary's book-store. Among these was a copy of Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus, and an illustrated edition of Don Quixote. He appears to have been a man of some education.

But the drama was now drawing rapidly to a close. In November, Colonel Gore was repulsed at St. Denis. The cruel murder of Lieutenant Weir, while a prisoner, followed. Colonel Wetherall was more fortunate at St. Charles. In December, General Colborne moved from Montreal on St. Eustache and St. Benoit, and was everywhere successful. All danger from the Rebellion appeared to be now at an end.

The year 1838 seemed to open on old Quebec under happier auspices. A large force of regulars was now in garrison. The great strain was over. In February, a Thanksgiving-day was appointed by Proclamation for the "termination of the late Rebellion." In April, the eight companies of the Volunteer Light Infantry, and the Quebec Artillery, were disbanded. The youthful Queen, whose accession had been signalized by a Colonial insurrection, had now the satisfaction of seeing the clouds dispersed and quiet restored. That there was no outbreak in the city itself, before the arrival of the troops, was indubitably owing to the firm attitude maintained by the citizen-soldiers of the town, who volunteered on all sides. But to these loyal men, who gave up their time and convenience to the exigencies of the hour, there was awarded, either then or thereafter, no word of thanks, no faintest expression of gratitude, from the newly-seated Queen or her advisers. From the sacred lips of Majesty there came no syllable of gratulation or approval to those who had so long held in Her name the walls of the ancient fortress, and had successfully maintained Her authority at a very serious crisis. So far from this, the insurgents were indemnified for their losses, positions of power and profit were given to their

leaders, and the prime agitator of the revolt was afterwards paid by the Home Government his salary in full as Speaker of the Quebec House, for the time elapsed from his flight, at the commencement of the rising, to that of his eventual re-emergence into public notice. A weak and pitiful policy of conciliation; and one which, if we may judge from subsequent events, has utterly failed of its intended object.

Remarkable, too, is this cowardly treatment of the loyalists when contrasted with the honors heaped in after years on the Ontario Militia, at the close of the half-breed Rebellion in the sparsely peopled solitudes of Manitoba and the North-West: yet, this was but a "tempest in a tea-pot," compared with the large proportions of that organized disaffection which threatened the crowded districts and wealthy cities of the East. It has become the fashion, among the friends of the old insurrection, to speak of it as a mere political blunder, and of the Rebels themselves as "Patriots." These are the utterances of that covert disloyalty which thinks what it dare not act. The apotheosis of those, who would fain have "let slip the dogs of war," and brought wide-spread suffering on the land, seems scarcely conceivable. The Rebellion was more than a mistake, it was a crime. Even its encomiasts

must admit that its recoil was injurious to themselves alone. It delayed all remedial legislation. It made the Special Council a necessity. It postponed for years the adjustment of all real or imaginary wrongs.

In the month of June, 1838, we had a squadron of warships at anchor in the harbor. Notable among these was the *Pique*, a heavily armed frigate of forty-six guns, with rounded stern; the *Inconstant*, of the same class; the *Andromache* of 28 guns; also the large line-of-battle-ships, of seventy-four guns; the *Hastings*, the *Malabar*, the *Hercules*, and the *Cornwallis*. Vice-admiral Paget had his flag hoisted on the last of these. These were all wooden ships, of course, the era of iron had not yet dawned. They were all, the frigates especially, beautiful models; and one could not look without admiration on their tall masts and lofty spars. During the bright days of summer, boats, with visiting parties, were constantly putting off from shore, to be most hospitably received. Immense was the wonder excited by those formidable batteries on board,—the Nordenfeldt guns on deck, and the heavier cannon below. The decks were smooth and spotless as the floor of a ball-room; the massive yard-arms above, the vast spread of canvas, when the sails were occasionally shaken

out, and the distinctive war-pennants that streamed out aloft, all seemed fresh and fair as a vision, yet, in their strength and beauty, not unworthy of a power that claimed to be mistress of the seas.

It was on a September evening, in the same year, that I saw Lord Brougham burnt in effigy in the Place d'Armes, amid an immense multitude and much excitement. His lordship's ill-natured censure of Lord Durham had aroused much unfavorable comment. The lay-figure was a capital imitation of the original, wig and costume complete. Mr. Ford, a well-known citizen, administered a vigorous parting kick, as his lordship was committed to the flames.

The presence of the naval officers of the squadron gave, as may be imagined, an additional zest to the many social gatherings in the pleasant old town. "Country-parties," as they were termed, were organized in all directions. The jolly midshipmen were favorites everywhere, while the older officers were the subject of much careful angling on the part of the more sober-minded spinsters and their anxious mamas. Quebec, too, is fortunate in possessing, within a moderate circuit of environment, many delightful localities for an occasional visit. On the North side at a few leagues distance, is Lake St.

Charles, a fine sheet of water,—a double lake in fact, shaped like an hour-glass,—with Madame Verret's comfortable house of reception standing, at that time, at the narrows, and stretching away Northward to the base of the Laurentides. The sister lake, that of Beauport, lying more to the East; Indian Lorette, and the older village of the same name; all these, on the same side, had their full complement of visitors; while, on the South side of the St. Lawrence, the Chaudière Falls, the village of New Liverpool, and the heights of Point Levis, received, also, an ample share of patronage. It was no uncommon sight, on those midsummer mornings, to see a string of twenty or thirty old-fashioned *calèches* descending the Côte St. George's, on the North slope of the city, in search, like Dr. Syntax, of the picturesque. I like to think of those bright sunny days, with their accompaniments and surroundings, the magnificent scenery, the rich luxuriance of foliage, the many happy faces, the songs and laughter, and the mildly Bacchic character of the entire revelry. I remember, too, the splendid fishing to be had, in those years, along the valley of St. Charles. Mr. Richard Nettle, the Inspector of Fisheries, in the early fifties, has assured me that he had taken salmon at the Falls of Lorette, only a few miles from town;

and many of the mountain-streams afforded excellent trout fishing. On one occasion, in company with Mr. Gilbert Griffin, a son of Dr. Griffin of the 32d, I had a few days delighted fishing in the River Huron, a stream discharging into the Upper lake St. Charles. We waded up stream, from the lake, for several miles, and the many turns of the river, among those mountain solitudes, seemed to bring a new landscape before us every few minutes. The unsophisticated trout of those regions, in their ignorance of man and his wiles, took the fly with eagerness, and rapidly filled our baskets. At night we slept in some old hunter's cabin, and heard innumerable stories of stirring incidents and "hair-breath scapes." It was a most pleasant excursion.

In those days, the exodus to salt water, during the hot months, was by no means universal. The means of travel were few, and not so convenient as now. The majority contented themselves with going to some of the surrounding villages, Ste. Foye, St. Ambroise, Charlesbourg, or Ancienne Lorette. With my old friend Jerry Leaycraft and his relatives I had many enjoyable jaunts of this kind to a house on the Ste. Foye Road, nearly opposite the church, where the family had engaged lodgings for the season. It was in 1835, I remember, that we both talked over the

prospect of forming a Debating Club in the city, a project which, with the co-operation of Mr. Daniel Wilkie, a nephew of my old teacher, was forthwith carried into effect. We met in the Chien d'or building, over Mr. Thomas Cary's, now the site of the Post Office. Among the members were Messrs. Colthurst, Dr. J. Graddon, C. C. Sheppard, McTaggart, Jno. McKirdy, Wm. Walker, junr., Jon. C. Clapham, Jackson, Thos. Cary (a nephew of the elder T. C.), Paul Lepper, Frank Colley, H. S. Scott, A. J. Maxham, W. J. Welch, Wm. White, Colin Bruce, H. A. Wickstead, and, later, Frank D. Tims, and Willan. I was not with the Club in its latter days, having left for Kingston in 1841, but it lasted, I believe, till late in the forties. I recollect that Halley's great comet, a magnificent spectacle, flamed in the North as we went to the place of meeting, during the first winter. Some of the members attained considerable fluency; and all must have profited by an occasional "reading up" of the subject for discussion.

This old Chien d'or building, or Freemasons' Hall, was occupied by Thos. Cary & Co., proprietors of the Quebec Mercury, for thirty years, up to 1845. It was also a famous "locus standi" for auctioneers. G. D. Balzarette, Alexander Farquhar, and George Futvoye, held their sales here,

on the lower flat. Here, also, several notables lectured, as the Rev. M. Wilkie, on Hydrostatics, Dr. McCauley, on Moral Philosophy, Mr. Burke, on phrenology; and in November and December of 1835, a course of most interesting lectures on Anatomy was given by Doctors James Douglas and Alfred Jackson. I enjoyed these evenings thoroughly, though the lectures themselves were of course mainly intended for medical students. There was much of dry humor about Dr. Douglas. In commenting on the fatty protuberances of the ischiatic region in the Hottentot, at the base of the pelvis, he remarked that some thought this was intended to enable the Hottentot to sit at his ease and admire the works of creation! To illustrate the peristaltic motion of the larger intestine, he actually had a cat caught and killed in the neighborhood, while the lecture was going on. Poor puss was then, in a twinkling, duly dissected and presented to the audience, with an expression of regret for the "venerable spinster" who would see her tabby no more! In his remarks on the vascular system, he alluded to the many theories put forward to explain the use of the spleen, and observed that some had thought it had no use at all! Had the worthy Doctor lived to the present day, he might possibly have expressed himself more de-

finitely. Dr. Andrew Wilson, in Harper's Magazine for June 1896, informs us that the leucocytes, or white blood-corpuscles, are produced in the spleen, and have an independent life, pushing their ways through the walls of capillary blood-vessels and passing into the tissues, there to envelop and devour, like the amoeba, all alien matters that threaten the welfare of the body. Similar views, it is said, were entertained by Dr. Augustus Walker in 1846.

About this time, in view of possible trouble, the Constitutional Association was formed under the presidency of Andrew Stuart, a leading barrister. This was in Jan. 1836. The great National Societies also made their appearance. The first president of the St. George's Society was the Hon. Mr. Price, with Mr. William Patton as Senior Vice-president, and Robert Symes as treasurer. The three sister Associations marched together, for the first time, to St. Patrick's Church, on the 17th March, at the invitation of the sons of St. Patrick, a custom kept up for several years afterwards. These processions were of rather imposing character, the large silken banners and the regalia of the officers giving picturesqueness to the scene. The day was generally terminated by a dinner at the Albion Hotel, Palace Street.

But midst all the political stir and bustle of the time the interests of science and literature were not forgotten. The Literary and Historical Society, founded by Lord Dalhousie in 1834, met in the Union Building, Place d'Armes. It was here that I heard Dr. James Sewell deliver his lecture on Respiration. Mr. Valentine Daintry, a young man of remarkable talent, an official in the Post Office Department, gave a lecture on the undulatory theory of light, and another on the Aurora Borealis. Later, in 1841, they had removed to the Parliament Building, and in the early part of that year, having been elected a Member three years before, I had the pleasure of reading, though with fear and trembling, my first paper on the History of Alchemy. Among the "grave and reverend Seigniors" who at that time held office, I recollect the Hon. A. W. Cochran, the Hon. Wm. Sheppard of Woodfield, Lieut. Baddely, Captain Bayfield, R. N., Dr. J. C. Fisher, Mr. A. Campbell, Queen's Notary, and the Rev. Dr. Wilkie. It required no little courage, in a comparative youngster, to face veterans like these. There were giants in those days. The fortunes of the Society, then in its prime, seem to have fluctuated with the flight of years. In 1851, ten years later, when I returned from Montreal, I found the "personnel" wholly

changed. The meetings were then attended by Dr. Russell, Thulcke the artist, Samuel Sturton, Dr. E. A. Meredith, Lieuts. Savage, Noble, Rankin, and Ashe, H. S. Bingham, Mr. D. Wilkie of the High School, and Captain John McDougall, who had navigated the Steamer Royal William across the Atlantic. But I missed the kindly face of my old friend and teacher, the Rev. Dr. Wilkie, who had died in May of this year, shortly before my arrival. In his career as Instructor, well-informed as he was in all the ordinary branches of school-teaching, the bent of his mind was, I think, essentially mathematical. I remember his maintaining, at one of the Society's meetings, that the property of a man who owed a hundred pounds, and had nothing, might be algebraically expressed by $-(\text{minus}) 100$. Mr. Daintry demurred, holding that a new attribute or quality had been brought forward, and remarking "you would not, sir, speak of a well as being minus thirty feet high?" I was informed by his friends that he had retained his faculties almost to the last; his memory having alone failed, a premonition in most cases of approaching dissolution. Lovers of Eastern lore, will recollect the exclamation of the dying Dasaratha in the Yajnadattabadha.

"My sight grows dark. My memory is
(disturbed.)"

A fine touch of Nature. But despite this failing, I was told that there were some things he remembered to the last. Among these was the twenty-third Psalm, an especial favorite of his. Those dying lips, when all else was forgotten, were still heard to repeat the solemn words : "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want..... "Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." Doubtless those fine old Psalms have been a comfort to many. Lord Sydenham, who died at Kingston in 1841, begged a short time before his death, that the twenty-fifth Psalm might be read to him, and repeated several of the verses with affecting fervor. This was told me by the Rev. Dr. Adamson, who was with him at the time.

In 1853, the meetings of the Society were transferred for a time, from the Parliament Buildings to the City Hall. It was here that I heard, in the early months of that year, a paper by Dr. Meredith on Talfourd's Tragedy of Ton, and one by Lieut. Savage on the Greek Drama. In February 1854, the Legislative Building was destroyed by fire, and with it perished the Museum of the Society, together with its records and great part of the library. The meetings were then held, for a brief period, over a store

at the corner of St. Louis and St. Ursula Streets. Here I heard a paper read by Lieut. Ranken, on Fortifications. Bishop Mountain, who was present, remarked that he had "stumbled on a rather warlike subject." Lord Bury was also present. In 1861, I attended the meetings then held in an upper flat over B. Sinclair's bookstore, in St. John Street, where I heard a paper read by G. G. Dunlevie, on the Ionian Isles. In October 1862, the Society was again burnt out, and the library almost wholly destroyed. A removal was then effected to Free-Masons' Hall, at the corner of St. Louis and Garden Streets; whence, in 1868, the last remove was made to the Morrin College building, on St. Stanislas Hill, the present 'habitat' of the Association. During all these years I had the pleasure of reading several papers at the stated meetings.

As respects Music and the Drama, I find it noted that Miss Hill, from London, a blind singer, arrived during the summer of 1838. She took apartments on Mountain Hill, where I had the pleasure of hearing her sing, in magnificent style, "Rory O'More" and "The Four-leaved Shamrock." Her voice was singularly rich and powerful. The deprivation of sight never seemed to affect her unvarying cheerfulness, and, accompanied by her companion, a young lady who

served as "her eyes," she visited the Falls of Montmorency and several points of interest in and about the city. She gave several concerts in Quebec, and was universally respected. Subsequently in 1840 she took part in the musical service performed in Trinity Chapel on St. George's day, declining, "as an English-woman", to receive any remuneration. The Seguins gave their first concert, assisted by Mr. Latham, in September 1839. They gave another concert in August 1840, which I attended. It was a rich treat to hear them give the famous duo, "Sir, a Secret", "We're a' Noddin", and the 'Laughing Trio'. They were assisted on this occasion by Mr. Horncastle. I heard them a few years afterwards, in Montreal, at the Hayes Theatre, in Norma, the Bohemian Girl, and the Barber of Seville. La Borghese, an Italian lady, sang at the Albion Hotel; as did also, at a later date, the veteran Braham, of world-wide celebrity. I heard him at the last concert which he gave in Quebec, in August 1841. He was advanced in years but seemed to retain all his vocal powers. "Age could not wither him"—he wore a wig, but shewed no other sign of old age. In singing the "Bay of Biscay", his dramatic acting, and the powerful resonance of his voice in giving "A sail, a sail!" added much to the effect. I recollect the rich

sweetness of his "Farewell my Trim-built Wherry", the last stanza of which was subdued almost to a whisper; yet the expression and vocalization were perfect. While singing "A Man's a Man for a' that", he, as well as the audience, was surprised by a rather unusual incident, the close of the first stanza being greeted by a burst of applause from the adjoining passage and corridors, where the assembled servitors of the hotel expressed, in this way, their approval of the sentiment. But I must not omit mention of celebrated Rainer family of Tyrolese, who gave their first concert, also at the Albion, in July 1840, appearing in their national costume. I did not see them on this occasion; but during their stay they were invited to sing at Morton Lodge, on the Ste. Foye Road, the residence of Mr. T. A. Stayner. On their return to town, they passed slowly by our residence, "York Cottage", near the toll-gate. It was a beautiful summer evening, they were seated in an open carriage, and singing one of their national songs. We all of us listened, "Lapped in Elysium", to those delicious harmonies, that seemed like the Song of Silenus greeting the departing day. There was one voice, a baritone, of exquisite sweetness and power. None could hear, unmoved, so entrancing a melody. The deep repose around seem to add to the charm. It

was a delightful episode, never to be forgotten.

Many have been the changes, since then, in that neighborhood. The famous fifty-acre field then extended as an unbroken pasturage from the Ste. Foye Road to the Grande Allée, and thither the cattle of the Ursuline Nuns were driven, every morning, to graze. There were a few small marshes in it. Our neighbor, James Lane, shot over this ground, and occasionally a few snipe were bagged. In the centre of the field was a small green thicket, almost impervious, in which some of the large white horned owls were wont to lodge at times. I killed a very fine one, to be stuffed, which stood over two feet in height. I have heard of people having lost their way, during the heavy mists of autumn, in this extensive tract. It is now in great part built over, and laid out into streets, Maple Avenue passing centrally through it. Facing this field, on the North side of the Ste. Foye, was another vacant tract, extending Northward to the brow of the hill separating the town from St. Roch's. In this tract I have played cricket in my school-days; and in the late 'twenties' I have seen two or three large grey eagles flying over the summit of the hill-slope to the North. Here too, Ste. Foye Road is now lined, on both sides, with dwelling houses. On these fields, and in their

vicinity, there was usually, in those years, a great turn out of amateur sportsmen when the enormous flocks of wild-pigeons took their annual summer flight over Quebec and its neighborhood. These birds flew high and in immense masses, like lofty moving clouds. Every one, young and old, who could handle a gun, seemed to be there; though from the elevated flight of these migratory visitors, it was not easy to do much execution. It was a wonderful sight to see these birds pass, in serried ranks and squares, for hours together, over a running fire of sportsmen below. But in after years, frightened perhaps by the warmth of their reception, they flew more inland.

Opposite the fifty-acre field, on the Grande Allée, was the well-known race course, which for many years, conjointly with the regatta in the harbour, attracted a multitude of visitors, during the summer holidays. Crowds of carriages lined the course, and the proceedings were enlivened by the inspiring "calls" of the military buglers, who were generally on hand. The great race between Timoleon and Filho, in 1833, won by the latter, created immense enthusiasm. Here also, on the plains of Abraham, the grand reviews took place. It was a splendid sight to see three or four of the crack regiments of the line

manoeuvring or marching past. In those days, the pioneers, stalwart men, with axes and leather jerkins, marched in the van; a fugleman gave the time and emphasized the word of command. The light companies wore knee-caps, and the rank and file, generally, appeared in pants of spotless white. Rifles were not then in vogue, but during the thirties, I was told, were served out, in limited quantities, to the non-commissioned officers. I may mention here that rifles were in use during the West India campaign of 1805-1810. They were muzzle-loaders, of course, and the ball was driven home by a wooden mallet. The regattas also formed part of the holiday-curriculum. The Guards, on their arrival, took part in them; and I was witness to a well contested race which they won from the Quebec Rowing Club, among whose members were A. J. Maxham, James and George Gillespie and John Gordon, Mr. James George, a well-known Quebec merchant, appeared on this occasion, navigating with a double-headed paddle, an Esquimaux Caiac, a canoe of skins, and closed round the waist.

On high-days and holidays, the brow of these plains, overlooking the St. Lawrence, was always a favorite promenade. During the summer the harbour was generally crowded with

shipping; and it was pleasant to hear the rhythmic songs of the crews, softened by distance, while engaged in loading or discharging their various cargoes. At the present day, the savage exclusiveness of the modern ship-laborers union, with their murderous proclivities, has put an end to all this. Songs and shipping seem to have departed together; dull times have come; and the glory of the great trading-port is a thing of the past!

The Grande Allée, being the highway leading from Quebec to Cap-Rouge, is known, outside the city limits, as the Cap-Rouge Road. Half-way between these two places, on the South side of the Road, stood the building known as "Hamel's", a long, low, wooden structure, in much request as a rendez-vous for picnics and winter country-parties. These last generally consisted of twenty or thirty couples driving from town in carioles; and, with fine weather and good roads, the drive there and back, on a clear starlit night, was wont to be one of the chief attractions of the gathering. The rooms were delightfully large and pleasant and the dressing-rooms neat and tidy. Dancing was kept up till midnight to the music of violinists from the city,—Sauvageau or Hunt,—and an excellent supper of substantials was then in order, an episode

highly relished by the seniors. I have met many of the "*jeunesse dorée*" of the town,—mostly merchant's clerks and young lawyers,—at these parties which were most enjoyable. All seemed pleased, and there was a general absence of ceremony. During the Winter of 1838-39, several officers of the Guards, then in garrison, were present.

The other main highway, leading to the city, was the St. Foye Road, a very ancient and quaint-looking thoroughfare, especially that part within the banlieu, or town-limits. The houses were mostly small and of wood. Many had covered galleries in front. About half way to town there stood on the South side, on the roof of one of these buildings, an enormous wooden figure of Jupiter grasping his thunder-bolts, the work of some native artist. Nearly opposite was a small tenement with a mineral spring of deliciously cool saline water. It was pleasant, in the hot summer weather, to quaff a glass of this icy and refreshing drink. Many citizens patronised this establishment. I have several times met Dr. James Sewell there. This was in the early "thirties". West of this, and a little back from the road, stood a large building, a hospital, I believe, with a sun-dial in front, surmounted by the inscription, "*Dies nostra sicut umbra*". It

has long since disappeared. Its position was somewhere in the rear of the present St. John's Church. There was a long space of open ground about it, separated from the road by a low fence. The Ste. Foye Road, within the limits, was here known as St. John Street "without", being a continuation of the city-street of that name, and running through the populous suburb of St. John. The doors and windows of these dwellings were generally open in summer; the tenants seemed content to enjoy the "*dolce far niente*"; the frequent sounds of a violin floated outwards, mingled with the laughter of many tongues. Life, to these "insoucians", seemed a carnival of perpetual sunshine. Here and there, some dark-eyed brunette looked out at the window, anxious to see and be seen; while the old men, the elders of the people, with white hair and venerable aspect, played draughts on the open balconies, or clustered in cheerful converse; as in the "Maccabees",—"The aged men sat in the streets communing together of good things". Some of these latter, of large and stately build, might have served as models of Olympian Jove. Nor were the loom and spindle wanting.

The small rooms within, judging from an occasional glimpse, seemed the perfection of neatness, with their quaint old furniture and pic-

tures of Saints on the walls. Alas, that this should come to an end! But Father Time is remorseless. All this was swept away, at one fell swoop, by the great fire of June 28, 1845, which destroyed thirteen hundred houses. After a time the old buildings were replaced by more solid structures. Shops and stores of considerable pretensions appeared. The street became lined with modern tenements of two and three stories. An air of importance prevailed the entire locality. But the charm of those quaint old houses, as they stood of yore, with all their songs and merriment and light-hearted gaiety, has passed away, for ever.

One of the most remarkable of the many fires from which Quebec has suffered, was that of the Château St. Louis, which was burnt in mid-winter,—on the 23rd January, 1834. The day was clear and fine, but intensely cold, the thermometer marking eleven or twelve degrees below zero. The fire commenced at about nine in the morning, and lasted all day, burning downwards from the upper story. An immense crowd was collected on the spacious Place d'Armes, but nothing could be done. Heated water was obtained, but froze in the hose-pipes. By sunset the entire building was a ruin, and nothing but blackened walls remained of the famous old

Château, the scene of so many festivities in the days of old. Not a vestige of the historic relic is now to be seen, its site being covered by the Durham platform. Within a stone's throw of the Château, to the North-west, formerly stood an unpretending structure, used in 1837 as a drill-shed, and afterwards as a Theatre. It was destroyed by fire in the summer of 1846, while crowded to witness a scenic representation, with the loss of forty-six lives. The large building in the vicinity, fronting on the Place d'Armes, and now the Normal School, was used for Government offices in the early fifties. In these I have frequently seen some of the notables who figured largely in the old-time insurrection, — Dr. Rolph, A. N. Morin, W. L. Mackenzie, and others. The two first-named were successively, in the order given, Commissioners of Crown Lands.

In the following year (1835), I met young Hemans, a son of the poetess, at one of the Quebec entertainments. It was at an evening-reception given at the residence of Mrs. James Hunt, in the Lower town. He was at that time a student at Bowdoin College, Massachusetts, and had been invited to Quebec, during the vacation, by William Morrin, a fellow student, and son of Dr. Joseph Morrin, for many years a well-known

medical practitioner of the city. Young Hemans was of somewhat delicate appearance, thin and slightly built, rather undersized, of calm and thoughtful aspect, quiet and reserved in manner.

In 1840, the celebrated traveller and journalist, James Silk Buckingham, gave lectures on Egypt and Palestine, in the Court House and Theatre Royal,—a man of dignified presence, as well as an accomplished and pleasing speaker. In his lecture on Palestine he remarked that our knowledge of the age of trees was yet in its infancy, and that it was possible that many of the trees were yet living under whose shadow the Saviour had rested during his wanderings. In referring to the appearance of an Oriental crowd, he observed that it possessed a pictorial charm, from the gay colors and flowing outlines of the varied costumes, whereas, in the West there was a monotonous uniformity of dark-color stiff attire, and the hats worn scarcely differed a quarter of an inch in brim, from one another. He spoke in an easy, conversational manner, apparently without notes, and extempore.

Two years afterwards, in 1842, Quebec was visited by another celebrity, of world-wide renown, Charles Dickens, the novelist. I had seen him, previously, at Kingston, where he lodged at

J. H. Daly's Hotel. On leaving that place for Montreal, he came down, in the early morning, to the wharf where the steamer lay, and shook hands with several who were introduced to him. A considerable crowd was collected to witness his departure; and on going on board he was considerate enough to stand on the hurricane deck, where he remained for some time, conversing with the Captain, so that all might have a good look at him. It was said that, while at the hotel, several young men of the town donned a waiter's garb, in order to see him, a moment, while taking his ease. He was accompanied by his wife, a youthful blonde, rather stout, with blue eyes, and of unpretending and charming manner.

In later days, 1863, on the occasion of Bishop Williams' Consecration, another visitor came, of sterling personality, John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto. It was with profound respect that I saw the aged prelate, then over eighty, moving with his brother-bishops slowly up the nave, somewhat feebly, and with his well-known rolling gait, but erect and defiant as ever. In the conflict of clamor which led to the iniquitous spoliation of the Clergy-Reserves, he stood forth as the unwavering champion of his church and her rights. He crossed the Atlantic; he left no stone unturned; he pleaded his cause, by petition

and memorial, before the Imperial Commons, and before the Legislature of Canada. He stood in the breach, one man against many, consecrating with unwearied energy all his great mental talent and bodily activity to the defence of his sacred palladium. It was all in vain. Yet may we not say that the results of this legislation have been altogether unfortunate? Like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, it has deadened the morality of the body politic; it has debased and darkened the sense of justice and equity; it has substituted expediency for right in the conduct of public affairs. To the Status of the Anglican Clergy it has been most injurious; inviting them to descend from the true to the acceptable, and inciting every pudding-headed parishioner to carp and cavil at his spiritual teacher.

At the time of Charles Dickens' visit, the travel between Quebec and Montreal was carried on by steam-boat in summer and by stage in winter, the Grand Trunk Railway not being opened till some twelve years later. The traverse from Quebec to Levis, in the "thirties" and early "forties" was effected by a horse-boat which was often driven by stress of tide or weather, some miles down the river. In winter it was performed by canoes, a voyage which required considerable skill and judgment, to avoid the floating

blocks and fields of ice. I have often, during the transit, admired the wonderful dexterity of the canoe-men, in avoiding danger, and finding an open channel. It was sometimes necessary for all hands to jump out, to allow the canoe to be dragged over the ice-field, and again launched in open water. I recollect on one occasion, when all had jumped out, some unfortunate passenger was found to have been left behind on the ice, when the canoe was again moving forward in the open channel. He was an old man, and we could see that he had fallen on his knees, in prayer, thinking, no doubt, that his last hour had come. We had some difficulty in getting the crew to go back for him, which they did with a seeming show of reluctance and some irreverent laughter, one of them remarking rather drily: "*Qu'est-ce que ça fait? Il ne vivra pas longtemps, quand même*"!

When I again visited Quebec, in 1864, after an absence of some years, I found that this primitive style of ferry had been given up; and that a stout little steamer was now employed on the traverse, prepared to do battle to all the inconveniences of winter, and able to cross at all times, save in exceptionally cold or stormy weather. From the removal of the seat of Government to Kingston, and thence to Montreal

(where it should always have remained), I found the Legislative Building then occupied as a City Exchange, with Mr. Rodgers in charge. This gentleman was the author of a projected history of Canada, which, however, was discontinued after the first volume. I met there, among others, an old acquaintance and school-fellow, Daniel Wilkie, a nephew of my former preceptor, and at that time one of the Professors of the High School, established a few years previously. I also met Mr. Kimlin, Editor of the Quebec Mercury, who had succeeded Mr. W. Kemble in that capacity. In driving round some of the old haunts, I was struck by the scene of desolation which the St. John suburb presented. This was the year following the great fire, and the acres upon acres of solitary chimneys, looking like monumental tomb-stones, had a most dreary appearance, the work of reconstruction having scarcely commenced.

The perambulatory system of Government having been adopted in consequence of the burning of the Parliament House in Montreal, by a Griffin-town mob, in 1849, the Legislature and public offices were brought down to Quebec in 1851. A few years afterwards, a very notable Ecclesiastic visited the town, His Eminence the Cardinal Bedini. A rather amusing incident occurred

at a levée which he gave. Several of the clerks of the Legislature attended, and were presented. These were announced by their official titles, "*Premier écrivain de la Chambre*", "*troisième écrivain*", and so on, through half a dozen presentations. Whereupon His Eminence remarked, in a clear and audible voice, but with a humorous twinkle in his eye, "*Mais, ce sont des personnages très distingués.*"

Sixty years ago, when the era of ocean-steamers had scarce commenced, and ocean-cables were not, it was considered a fair average if British advices reached Quebec in a month's time. Contemporary literature came to us, in great part, through the medium of cheap and unsightly American reprints; or, if in the form of novels, was largely supplied by such papers as the New York Albion, for some time edited by Dr. J. C. Fisher. In this paper appeared, in consecutive numbers, Captain Marryat's "Jacob Faithful" and "Peter Simple", Michael Scott's "Tom Cringle's Log", and "Cruise of the Midge", Warren's "Diary of a late Physician", and others. The selection was always good, and the paper well printed. It was supplied to the citizens by Mr. Tardif, of the Court House staff. The Quebec "Star", in the early thirties, was edited by Rev. D. Wilkie. It bore the legend, "*Coelum non animum mutant,*

qui trans mare currunt"; and occasionally, not often, diverged into fiction. An episode from one of Warren's stories was given at full length,—that of the duel between Captain.....and Mr. Trevor,—in the "Diary". In 1837, appeared an attractive paper, the "Literary Transcript", edited by a lady of taste and talent, Mrs. Kershaw, assisted by her brother, Mr. T. Donoghue. It was pleasant to hear these kindly Sibylline utterances amid the din of political conflict. But the paper did not live long. The editress returned to Europe in 1839. It was continued for a few years, as the "Transcript", by Mr. Burke, and later by Mr. Willis, a brother of the noted *littérateur*. I believe that Mrs. Kershaw was cousin to Lady Ross, wife of Sir John, the Arctic voyager. She was also a relative of Rymer Jones, the naturalist. Apart from newspaper reading, there was also the book-store of Mr. Thomas Cary, at the Chien d'or, and that of Mr. Neilson, at the Salient angle of Mountain Hill.

During the long winters, commercial business in the Lower town was almost at a stand-still. The leading merchants, with their employees, devoted themselves, for several months, to social enjoyment. Sleigh-driving was a favorite amusement. A tandem-club was in existence, with a magnificent show of skins and robes. Evening

parties, for juniors, were of daily occurrence, and whist-playing for the seniors, assumed large proportions. The ordinary gatherings, for young people, were of very primitive character; the guests met at seven, danced till ten, and departed after a light supper. Snowshoeing was always popular, and so was sliding in small sleighs down the declivities of the town. Many a time, when at school, have I enjoyed this latter sport down Haldimand Street, with D. A. Ross, afterwards a Minister of the Local Government. Occasionally, too, the broad St. Lawrence "took", or became frozen, as a level flat, from side to side. Roads were then marked out, and quite a gay scene was presented, what with carioles crossing, bells jingling, huts and *cabanes* with flags flying, groups of people everywhere, and skating parties on the spaces of clear ice. The ice-bridge afforded, besides, an easy means of communication with Point Lévis, and the farmers of the South side brought over their produce. On one occasion, to secure a bridge, a Captain LeBreton was permitted to connect large floating pieces of ice by strong chains of iron. But the chains snapped like threads. Afterwards, when the ferry steamers traversed, the point of view changed, and the attempt was once made to break the ice, and prevent a bridge, by the explosion of dyna-

mite, but equally without success. The snow-shoe club, besides occasional races in the vicinity of the town, were wont to cross the Beauport ice, and rendez-vous at the Falls of Montmorency. The "Falls" was always a favorite resort both for the drive, and for the delightful sliding down the steep "cone", where the rush of wind, from the tremendous velocity attained, almost took one's breath away. There was some danger, from the clefts and air-holes in the ice, and I recollect that Mr. Josph Leaycraft, a son of the West India merchant, had an unpleasant experience of this kind. He stumbled into one of these apertures, but fortunately checked his descent before reaching the water, and was eventually drawn up by ropes.

The various elements of the Quebec community lived together at that time, so far as any difference of creed was concerned, in perfect peace and harmony. Religious disputes were scarcely heard of. The Roman Catholic Secular Clergy were then actuated, as I think, by milder and less exclusive sentiments than in later years. While at the Quebec Seminary, in 1832, I was treated with kindness and consideration. The Rev. Father McMahon was, himself, a man of active and genial liberality. It was not till after his death that the Gavazzi riot occurred. I saw Father

Gavazzi at the Wesleyan Church on Jail Hill, a few days before the outbreak. It was a fine summer evening; the Church-windows were open, and as I passed by, I could see his face and figure distinctly, as he addressed the meeting from the pulpit,—a man of stalwart build, with large expanded chest, and powerful voice. The riot itself, occurred at Zion Church, in Ste. Ursule Street, during an evening service. It had been thought that, there being no public display, a denominational church would be safe from interference. But it was not so, his discourse was interrupted by the words “that’s a lie”, and then “the row began”. There was a rush towards the pulpit, the reverend lecturer seized a chair, and being a man of muscle, the ruffians who attacked him got rather more than they bargained for. As they swarmed up the pulpit-stairs they were knocked right and left like flies, and Gavazzi, aided by his friends, managed to escape without a scratch. The only similar instance of intolerance that I remember was a demonstration against Chiniquy, several years later. Both these men were converts from Romanism. I was playing chess in the club-rooms, in John Street, at the time, when, a little after eight o’clock, “a roar like thunder shook the street”, and we rushed to the windows to see the cause of the tumult.

A raging mob filled the thoroughfare, and the air was heavy with angry denunciation. We could make out that they were waiting for Chiniquy, who had been lecturing at a small church outside John's gate, and was expected to pass that way. But the reverend Father was not so easily entrapped. Having an inkling, no doubt, of the intended reception, he went off by another road, and the mob withdrew, after a time, profoundly disgusted and disappointed.

Yet I would fain hope that in any great calamity this violent spirit was merged in a better and more kindly feeling. When the great fall of rock from Cape Diamond occurred, in 1841, all worked side by side, and strong men trembled with excitement and sympathy, as the cries of the victims rose from the ruined houses. The Imperial Custom-House was just opposite, and thither were taken a number of children who had been rescued from the timbers of the crushed tenements. Most of these were in their cradles, and it was strange to see these infants, unconscious of the casualty which had made them orphans, contentedly enjoying the sweet-meats which the officials had provided to keep them quiet. So also in the great fire of 1870, which consumed over four hundred houses in St. Rochs, and which I have special reason to remember, as

my youngest daughter, then an infant, was with her foster-mother in the middle of the burnt district. I could not get down in time, and she was twice removed before finding a place of safety.

Still more destructive was the conflagration which eleven years later swept the St. John's suburb from East to West, commencing nearly opposite St. Matthew's Church and extending Westward as far as the Tower Field. More than six hundred houses were destroyed, chiefly on D'Aiguillon and St. John Streets, and of the great church of St. John there remained nothing but the outer walls. This fire came within no great distance of my own residence, and, as the evening advanced, it was like a scene from Dante to see the darkness lit up by half a mile of flame. The church was near the foot of our street, and we could hear the bells being tolled from the lofty towers, as if in supplication, a solemn and mournful expression of deprecatory prayer. Still the fire advanced, and at length we could see the tall spires collapse and fall into the flames, amid an audible and universal groan. One toppled over sideways, and then the other one went plumb down, disappearing as if by magic. Most of the Church fittings were saved. On the following morning I was walking towards the ruins when I was startled by finding myself in the com-

pany of the twelve Apostles. There they were, huge wooden figures, of more than life size, taken from the interior, and placed for safety in a vacant green space near Number-Three tower.

But I must not extend my reminiscences to recent times. Here let me terminate these rambling notes. It has been a pleasure to recall those old days, when the famous garrison-town was yet in its glory, when the veteran troops of the Empire held its walls, and a thriving commercial population gave life and animation to its streets. In long after years—in 1892,—I revisited Quebec, but alas! all seemed changed. The streets were comparatively dull and deserted; an air of sadness seem to oppress the community; trade was stagnating; the grand old merchant princes had died and passed away, leaving none to succeed them. The splendor of the old city, with its many-voiced life and varying kaleidoscopic hues, had departed. All was strange and depressing. Only the beauty of its environs remained. Therefore it is that turning from its present aspect, and from the sealed book of the future, I prefer to look back on that which has been, and to retrace, from memory, a few idle jottings of the past.

(Sg.), E. T. F.

New Westminster, B. C.,
Sept. 26, 1896.

LA RECRUE DE 1659

ERRATA

Nous croyons devoir signaler aux lecteurs que dans notre article sur la recrue de 1659, il s'est glissé les erreurs suivantes :

Page 79, note 1, ligne 2, lire : Marie Pars et sa fille ne semblent pas être venues. . . .

Page 79, après note 3, ajouter :

(4) Jean de la Vigne. Figure dans les actes jusqu'en 1665.

Page 86, note 76, 4e ligne, lire : 26 au lieu de 25 oct.

Page 87, note 84, 2e ligne, lire : 1660 au lieu de 1760.

Page 88, note 90, 3e et 4e lignes, lire : 26 au lieu de 21 oct.

Page 90, note 102, 2e ligne, lire : accompagnée.

E.-Z. M.

BRONZE PLAQUETTE

(EXACT SIZE)



(OBVERSE)



(REVERSE)

STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY.

THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

Third Series

OCTOBER 1913

Vol. X

LA RECRUE DE 1653

LISTE INEDITE DES COLONS QUI PARTIRENT DE FRANCE POUR MONTREAL EN L'ANNEE 1653

PAR E. Z. MASSICOTTE

*Archiviste en chef du Palais de Justice,
Montréal*



N 1653, pour la première fois, notre ville reçut un groupe d'une centaine d'immigrants.

Ce renfort, relativement considérable et qui doublait presque la population, venait à point; sans lui, l'existence même de Montréal était menacée.

Cet événement a paru d'une importance telle à l'érudit abbé Faillon qu'il a cru devoir publier

un rôle général de cette recrue, contenant plus de 150 noms, c'est-à-dire que cet historien a mentionné tous ceux qui promirent de partir, laissant à d'autres chercheurs la tâche de démêler quels furent ceux qui quittèrent la France, ceux qui y restèrent et ceux qui moururent en route?

C'est à cette question complexe que nous allons essayer de répondre grâce à la masse de notes que nous avons pu accumuler sur nos anciens colons, grâce surtout à M. C. O. Bertrand, archiviste fédéral qui a trouvé, au Séminaire Saint-Sulpice, la liste inédite des immigrants de 1653, liste dont on trouvera la copie annotée à la fin de cette étude.

* * *

Ainsi que nous le disions plus haut, Montréal, après une décade de lutttes, semblait vouée à l'extinction.

C'est dans le but de lui infuser une vie nouvelle que M. de Maisonneuve partait pour la France (1651) et qu'il allait sonner l'alarme auprès de ceux qui avaient rêvé de fonder, en ce monde nouveau, une ville consacrée à Marie.

Après mille et une démarches, M. de Maisonneuve réussit à obtenir une somme de 75,000

livres devant être utilisée à recruter des "hommes forts et courageux", à les transporter, puis à "les nourrir et loger pendant cinq ans" et dès le printemps de 1653, c'est-à-dire en mars, avril et mai, notre gouverneur, en compagnie de M. de la Dauversière, engageait, à la Flèche, par devant Maître Lafousse, quantité de jeunes hommes, la plupart célibataires.

Malheureusement, près d'un tiers de ces engagés refusèrent de partir au dernier moment, ainsi qu'on le constatera.

* * *

Ce fut le 20 juin, que nos immigrants s'embarquèrent, dans la rade de Saint-Nazaire, près de Nantes. Le navire qui devait les traverser se nommait le *Saint-Nicolas*, il était la propriété d'un M. Charles LeCoq, sieur de la Beaussonnière et le capitaine Le Besson en avait le commandement.

Mais, hélas! l'histoire de ces transports de colons au XVII^e siècle (1653, 1659, 1662, 1663) ne varie pas sur un point: On ne prend aucun soin de s'assurer de la solidité des vaisseaux ni de leur état sanitaire.

Vraiment, il y aurait matière à comparaison entre les méthodes d'immigration du XVII^e

siècle et celles du XIXe, lors de l'exode des Irlandais vers nos rives. (1)

Résumons ce qu'en raconte la Soeur Bourgeois qui était du voyage.

"A peine avait-on levé l'ancre qu'on s'aperçut que le navire était pourri et faisait eau de toutes parts"!...

Néanmoins, on voulut continuer quand même "espérant qu'on pourrait étancher le vaisseau" en route.

N'y réussissant pas, et après avoir parcouru 350 lieues, il fallut revenir au point de départ.

Les passagers, cela se conçoit, étaient indignés; aussi, "M. de Maisonneuve dut-il *mettre tous ses soldats dans une île d'où l'on ne pourrait s'échapper, car autrement, il n'en serait pas demeuré un seul.*"

"Il y en eut même qui se jetèrent à la nage pour se sauver, car ils étaient comme des furieux et croyaient qu'on les menait à la perdition"! (Faillon, Soeur Bourgeois, I, 65).

Le *Saint-Nicolas* ne pouvant être radoué il fallut trouver un autre vaisseau, chose difficile,

(1) En effet, sur les 100,000 Irlandais qui furent dirigés sur notre pays en 1847 et après, il mourut en mer et à l'arrivée 13,850 individus, cela représente un pourcentage de près de 14; sous le régime français la mortalité fut presque toujours de 7 p.c. à 10 p.c. Dans les deux cas, cette mortalité est excessive.

si l'on songe qu'on ne put mettre de nouveau à voile qu'un mois plus tard, soit le 20 juillet.

Sans doute, dans ce second navire, l'espace faisait défaut et la nourriture n'était pas des meilleures, puisque la maladie, suivant la coutume, commença aussitôt ses ravages et qu'il mourut huit personnes en mer, au rapport de Soeur Bourgeois, durant les 60 jours de la traversée.

Le recrue arriva le 22 septembre à Québec où se produisit un incident curieux: "On ne prit point garde, raconte la soeur Bourgeois, à une arête qui s'enfonça tellement dans le navire, en arrivant, devant Québec, que les grandes marées ne purent le relever et qu'il fallut le brûler sur la place."

* * *

A Québec, où l'on persistait depuis plus d'une décade à voir dans la colonie montréalaise, "une folle entreprise", les autorités refusent d'abord de fournir, à M. de Maisonneuve les barques nécessaires à la conduite de la recrue plus loin ; mais, enfin, on accepte l'inévitable et les colons peuvent atteindre le lieu de leur destination le 16 novembre 1653.

* * *

Combien d'immigrants prirent-ils terre, alors à Villemarie?

La soeur Bourgeois dit qu'ils étaient environ 120 passagers (Faillon, Soeur Bourg. I, 65) dont 108 *soldats*, c'est ainsi qu'elle nomme les engagés.

L'abbé de Belmont fixe le nombre des *soldats* à 105.

La liste que nous publions ci-contre ne contient que 102 noms, mais tout le monde n'est pas mentionné ainsi que nous le démontrons.

L'abbé Faillon, dans ses recherches en France, a trouvé, dit-il, que 154 hommes s'étaient engagés à passer à Montréal, cependant dans son rôle général, tome II, p. 531, il n'y a que 153 noms. Encore, sur ces 153, s'est-il mépris et voici comment :

Il a fait un premier relevé des actes d'engagement passés au printemps devant Maître Lafousse, à la Flèche, ensuite, il a pris note des déclarations faites par les engagés, au moment du départ, à Saint-Nazaire, par devant le notaire Beliotte de Nantes.

Or il est arrivé que dans un cas, un colon a donné, en premier lieu, son surnom, puis en second, son véritable nom, et il en a fait deux individus; dans deux autres cas, lui ou un de ses secrétaires a lu, à la Flèche, puis à Nantes, les mêmes noms différemment, avec le résultat que sa liste s'est augmentée d'autant.

Précisons ces cas :

Au susdit rôle général, on lit que Jean Laforêt armurier, de la paroisse de Roizi ou Royssi, pays du Maine, s'engage à la Flèche, le 30 mars 1653, puis ne paraît pas au départ à Saint-Nazaire, alors que l'auteur constate, même rôle, page 559, que Jean Tavernier, armurier s'est embarqué, sans contrat d'engagement. Or ce dernier était surnommé Laforet aussi bien que la Lochetière (Voir Canadian Antiquarian, 1913, page 30).

D'autre part, l'abbé Faillon mentionne (pp. 539 et 541) les nommés Marin Denyau et Marin Druzeau, le premier s'embarquant sans engagement, tandis que le second passe un contrat à la Flèche, mais est absent au départ.

L'erreur de lecture entre Druzeau et Denyau est patente.(1)

Enfin, Honoré Dauvin passe un contrat à la Flèche et ne s'embarque point, mais au départ, il y a un nommé Honoré Dany. Il est évident que dans le premier cas, le notaire avait mis Dansni (ou Dansny), ainsi que Basset écrit toujours, à Montréal. Ce qui confirme cette hypothèse davantage, c'est que Dauvin est dit origi-

(1) Dans le même rôle, le frère de Marin, Jean Denyau est aussi nommé Druzeau.

naire de Mont Louis près de Tours, et Dany, de *Monloux*, près de Tours (1).

L'erreur de lecture est, ici, encore, flagrante.

De ceci, il résulte que le rôle général de M. Faillon doit se réduire à 150 noms.

Maintenant, le même auteur ajoute que sur ces 150 engagés, 103 seulement répondirent à l'appel à Saint-Nazaire. Toutefois, en examinant attentivement sa liste on découvre qu'il n'y en a réellement que 102, ce qui s'accorde avec la liste qui fait l'objet de la présente étude.

* * *

Peut-on établir quels sont les autres passagers qui voyageaient avec les *soldats*?

Dans ses mémoires, la vénérable soeur Bourbeois écrit qu'il y avait à bord, outre M. de Maisonneuve et elle-même: "la femme Milot, Marie du Mans, une autre femme avec son mari et quelques filles". (Faillon, Soeur Bourgeois, I, 62).

Au mois de novembre 1653, il ne réside à Montréal que Jean Milot, ici depuis quelque temps déjà, et Jacques Millots qui faisait partie de la recrue, mais tous deux étaient célibataires!

(1) Tanguay lui donne comme pays d'origine: Moutoux, mais c'est bien Mont Louis qui est le véritable nom ainsi qu'on peut le vérifier sur une carte du département d'Indre et Loire.

Jean Milot, cependant, fait dresser son contrat de mariage, un mois plus tard, le 29 décembre, avec Marie Marthe Pinson, qui accompagnait la recrue et qui demeurait en France, à la Flèche, près de Mans ,pays du Maine.

Il n'y a aucun doute que c'est cette dernière qui est appelée "la femme Milot, Marie du Mans," car cette désignation était exacte à l'époque où la soeur Bourgeois rédigeait ses mémoires.

Quant au mari avec sa femme on ne peut douter qu'il s'agit de Julien Daubigeon (mentionné sur la liste) et Perrine Mousnier qui font baptiser le 25 novembre, neuf jours après leur arrivée.

Il y a bien aussi, Jean Auger qui était marié, mais sa femme, Louise Grisard ne nous paraît être venue que plus tard.

Les autres personnes qui figurent pour la première fois dans les actes après le mois de novembre 1653 sont :

Jacques Beauvais (Closse, 11-12-53) ;

David Le Moyne (Closse, 10-12-53) ;

Antoine Lhermite dit Bassompierre (Closse, 10-12-53) ;

Jacques Mousnier (Closse, 29-12-53) ;

Jeanne Soldé (Closse, 11-12-53).

Ces 7 personnes : une femme mariée, deux filles et quatre hommes, ajoutées aux 102 de la liste, plus M. de Maisonneuve et soeur Bourgeois, forment le chiffre de 111, qui ne laisse qu'un écart de 9 noms avec le total approximatif de 120, au compte de la soeur Bourgeois. On peut supposer que les neuf autres personnes sont les "quelques filles" qu'on amenait pour les marier.

* * *

La vénérable fondatrice de la Congrégation Notre-Dame, nous a appris que sur le nombre de ceux qui traversèrent, huit furent ensevelis dans l'océan. (Faillon, Soeur Bourg., I, 66).

Il serait téméraire de nier l'exactitude de ce chiffre toutefois, on constate que sur les 102 noms de la liste, il y en a 11 sur lesquels on ne trouve aucune information, dans nos archives. Il est évident que les huit victimes du voyage sont parmi ces onze, mais quel a été le sort des trois autres? Ont-ils réussi à se sauver à la nage, à Saint-Nazaire, ou bien sont-ils passés ici, inaperçus? L'avenir le dira peut-être, en tout cas voici la nomenclature de ces onze engagés :

Jean Fruitier, no 12; Pierre Mouliers, no 25; Michel Leconte, no 47; Joachim Lepallier, no 61; Jean Chaudronnier, no 67; Charles Belot ou

Beliot, no 68; Jacques Audru, no 71; René Cadet, no 72; Louis Doguet, no 75; Guy Motais, no 77 et Olivier Baudouin, no 97.

* * *

Pour compléter ce travail, il nous paraît nécessaire de donner la liste de ceux qui contractèrent à la Flèche, l'engagement d'émigrer, mais ne donnèrent pas suite à leur projet :

Pierre Anselin,	François Gallois,
François Avisse,	Noel Gilles,
Jacques Balue,	Pierre Guesery,
Valéric de Barbousson,	Pierre Hardy,
Michel Bardet,	François Herissé,
Pierre Beauvais,	Hubay,
René Bélanger,	François Larcher,
Gilles Biards,	Olivier Le Prince,
Jean Bonneau,	Sébastien Leroux,
René Boudu,	Martin Lorient. (Il est
Augustin Boullay,	possible que ce soit Ma-
Jacques Boutelou,	thurin Lorient, dit l'ab-
Jean Chesneau,	bé Faillon).
Nicolas Cornier,	Julien Macé,
René Coubart,	René Maillet,
Mathurin Coudret,	Jean Maugrisson,
François Coudreux,	Michel Mogin,
Pierre Darondeau,	Jean Pichon,

Claude de Louaire,	Pierre Proust,
Jessé Dessommes,	Mathurin Richard,
Jean Dolbeau,	Pierre Salmon,
Jacques Fleury,	André Sépuré,
Etienne Foucault,	René Truffault,
François Foucault,	Simon Tupin,
Gilles Fricquet,	Charles Vigneux.
Pierre Frogeau,	

**ROLLE DE HOMES ENVOIES A MONT-
REAL EN L'ANNEE 1653 ET DE CE QUI
A ESTE ACORDE DE GAGES A
CHACUN DEUX**

Savoir a

(1) Mtre Estienne Bouchart chirurgien	150 tt
(2) Louis Chartier chirurgien	100 tt
(3) Claude Robutel	
(4) Jacques Brassier	
(5) Rene Rodayer defricheur	75 tt
(6) Jehan Guyet defricheur	75 tt
(7) Simon Després défricheur	75 tt
(8) René Besnart défricheur	75 tt
(9) fiacre Ducharne menuisier	100 tt
(10) Toussaint hunaut defricheur	75 tt
(11) Jacques Millaust defricheur	75 tt

(1) Epousa Marguerite Boissel en 1657. Sép. 1676. Demeura rue St-Paul, vis-à-vis la rue St-Vincent.

(2) Se noie en se baignant en 1660. Sep. le 20 juillet.

(3) Sieur de St-André et de la Noue. Retourne en France en 1658 et revient marié, avec la recrue de 1659.

(4) B. 1635. Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.

(5) Sep. le 20 nov. 1653, sous le nom de Rodoré.

(6) Demeure ici jusqu'en 1658.

(7) dit Berri. Pris et brûlé par les Iroquois en 1663.

(8) Sieur de Bourjoly. A la suite d'un procès (4-12-58) il quitte Montréal et va remeurer dans la région des Trois-Rivières.

(9) Epouse Marie Pacrault en 1659.

(10) Epouse Marie Lorgneuil en 1654.

(11) Sieur de Laval. Signe Millots. Epouse Jeanne Hébert en 1660.

- (12) Jehan fruitier defricheur 60 tt
 (13) François piron serrurier et défricheur
 75 tt.
 (14) Marin Denyau defricheur 75 tt
 (15) René Doussin scieur de long 75 tt
 (16) René Bondy charpentier 100 tt
 (17) Pierre Godin charpentier 100 tt
 (18) Paul Benoist charpentier 100 tt
 (19) Zacharie Desorsons charpentier scieur
 de long 100 tt.
 (20) Nicolas Millet charpentier scieur de long
 100 tt
 (21) Marin Jannot charpentier 100 tt
 (22) Silvestre Vacher charpentier 100 tt
 (23) Jehan le Mercher menuisier 100 tt

(12) Aucune trace. Dut mourir pendant la traversée.

(13) dit La Vallée. Devint soldat de la garnison.

(14) dit des Taillis. Faillon II, 539, le nommé Denyau puis à la page 541, par suite d'une erreur de lecture d'un de ses copistes il en fait un nouveau colon sous le nom de Druzeau pour Denyau.

(15) B. 1630. Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.

(16) Semble quitter Montréal après 1655.

(17) dit Chastillon. Epouse Jeanne Rousselière en 1654.

(18) dit le Nivernois. Epouse Elisabeth Gobinet en 1658.

(19) Figure dans les actes jusqu'en 1655.

(20) dit le Bauceron. Epouse Catherine Lorion en 1657. Brûlé dans sa maisons en 1674.

(21) dit La Chapelle. Epouse Frse Besnard en 1655.

(22) dit St-Jullien. Tué par les Iroquois en 1659.

(23) dit la Roche. Epouse Catherine Hurelle en 1654.

- (24) françois hudin defricheur et boulanger
75 tt
- (25) pierre Mouliers defricheur et taillan-
dier 75 tt
- (26) Michel louvart mousnier et defricheur
100 tt
- (27) Louis biteau defricheur 75 tt
- (28) Jehan Davoust defricheur et chapelier
75 tt
- (29) Louis Chevalier defricheur et cordonier
75 tt
- (30) Jehan fresnot defricheur et couvreur
75 tt
- (31) Urban Getté sieur de lonc masson et de-
fricheur 90 tt
- (32) Urban bossart masson et defricheur
80 tt
- (33) pierre des autels defricheur 65 tt

(24) C'est évidemment lui qui est inhumé à Montréal le 15-1-54
sous le nom de François Dhaidin.

(25) Aucune trace. Dut mourir en mer.

(26) dit Desjardins. Epouse Jacqueline Nadreau en 1658.

(27) dit St-Amant. Meunier. Sep. 15 fév. 1658.

(28) Se noie en 1657 en conduisant le R. P. Dupéron.

(29) Fut syndic de Montréal en 1672.

(30) Sepul. 26 juillet 1655.

(31) Epouse Catherine Charles en 1659.

(32) Epouse Urbaine Audiau dit Laflèche en 1660.

(33) dit Lapointe. Epouse M. Remy en 1666.

- (34) Michel bouvier defricheur et masson
60 tt
- (35) pierre Martin defricheur 60 tt
- (36) Simon Galbrun defricheur 60 tt
- (37) pierre bareau defricheur 75 tt
- (38) Jehan pichart defricheur 60 tt
- (39) Jehan pretrot defricheur et mousnier
100 tt
- (40) pierre Chauvin defricheur & mousnier
75 tt
- (41) Antoine Baudry defricheur et cloutier
75 tt
- (42) Gilles Lauzon defricheur et chaudron-
nier 80 tt
- (43) Estienne Lair defricheur 60 tt
- (44) pierre papin defricheur 60 tt
- (45) pierre Bruzé defricheur 60 tt
- (46) Jehan le Conte defricheur 75 tt

(34) Epouse Mathurine Desbordes en 1663.

(35) dit la Rivière. Epouse Marie Pontonnier en 1660. Tué par les Iroquois en 1661.

(36) Epouse Françoise Duverger en 1659.

(37) dit la Gogne. Devint soldat de la garnison.

(38) Epouse Louise Garnier en 1658. Tué par les Iroquois en 1661.

(39) Semble quitter Montréal après 1665.

(40) dit le Grand Pierre. Epouse Marthe Le hautreux en 1658.

(41) dit Lespinette. Epouse en 1665, Catherine Guillard.

(42) Chaudronnier. Epouse Marie Archambault en 1657.

(43) Epouse Marie Lorrion en 1658.

(44) Epouse Anne Pelletier en 1665.

(45) Disparaît après 1654.

(46) Compagnon de Dollard. Mort au Long Sault en 1660.

- (47) Michel le Conte defricheur 75 tt
 (48) Nicolas du Val defricheur 60 tt
 (49) André heurtebize defricheur 60 tt
 (50) Marin heurtebize defricheur 60 tt
 (51) Jacques Nail defricheur 60 tt
 (52) Jehan Gervais defricheur & Boulanger
 80 tt
 (53) Mathurin Jousset defricheur 75 tt
 (54) Mathurin Jouaneaux defricheur 70 tt
 (55) françois Nochet defricheur 75 tt
 (56) Jacques Boivin defricheur 75 tt
 (57) guillaume Chartier defricheur et tail-
 leur 60 tt
 (58) Morice leger defricheur 75 tt
 (59) pierre piron becheur et chirurgien 60 tt

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- (47) Aucune trace, probablement mort en mer.
 (48) Compagnon de Dollard, mort au combat de l'île St-Paul, le
 19 avril 1660.
 (49) Sep. 2 décembre 1659, âgé de 29 ans.
 (50) Epouse Etienneette Alton en 1660.
 (51) Tué le 25 octobre 1657 par les Iroquois et inhumé sous le
 nom de Noel.
 (52) Devint l'un des habitants les plus marquants de Villemarie.
 Epouse Anne Archambault en 1654.
 (53) Dit la Loire. Epouse Catherine Lotier en 1661.
 (54) Se donna aux Hospitalières en 1660.
 (55) Sep. le 11-12-54 sous le nom de Lochet.
 (56) dit Panse. Epouse Marguerite Blois en 1665.
 (57) Epouse Marie Faucon en 1663.
 (58) Maurice Averty dit Leger. Dans les pièces sous seing privé,
 au Palais de Justice, il se trouve à son adresse, une lettre pathé-
 tique, dans laquelle ses parents le conjurent de retourner en France.
 (59) Epouse Jeanne Lorion en 1663.

(60) pierre Raguideau defricheur	75 tt
(61) Jouachin Lepallier defricheur	75 tt
(62) Urban Graveline defricheur	75 tt
(63) Jehan Cadieu defricheur	75 tt
(64) Simon le Roy defricheur	75 tt
(65) Jehan Gasteau defricheur	60 tt
(66) Christophe Roger defricheur	60 tt
(67) Jehan Chaudronnier defricheur	60 tt
(68) Charles belot defricheur	60 tt
(69) pierre hardy laboureur defricheur	75 tt
(70) Louis gueretin defricheur et sabotier	60 tt
(71) Jacques Audru defricheur	60 tt
(72) René Cadet defricheur	60 tt
(73) Nicolas Jouselin defricheur	60 tt

(60) Sieur de St-Germain. Devint sergent royal. Tué par les Iroquois en 1664.

(61) Aucun renseignement. Dut mourir en mer.

(62) Baudereau dit Graveline. Fut syndic de 1663 à 1666. Retourna en France en 1658 et revint en 1659. Epouse M. Juillet en 1664.

(63) Serrurier. Epouse Marie Valade en 1663.

(64) Epouse Jeanne Godart en 1658. Tué par les Iroquois en 1662.

(65) Epouse Charlotte de Coguenne en 1667.

(66) Noyé en 1656.

(67) Aucune trace. Probablement mort en mer.

(68) Aucune trace. Probablement mort en mer.

(69) S'engage à Melle Mance en 1658 et semble avoir toujours demeuré à l'Hôtel-Dieu.

(70) dit le Sabotier. Epouse Elisabeth Le Camus en 1660.

(71) Aucune trace. Dut mourir en mer.

(72) Aucune trace. Dut mourir en mer.

(73) ou Josselin. Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.

- (74) Jehan Valais defricheur 75 tt
 (75) Louis Doguet Defricheur 60 tt
 (76) françois Roisé defricheur 75 tt
 (77) Guy Motais defricheur 75 tt
 (78) christophe gaillart defricheur et jardi-
 nier 60 tt
 (79) René houré defricheur 75 tt
 (80) Anthoine Chevasser defricheur 60 tt
 (81) Estienne Robin defricheur 60 tt
 (82) Michel Teodore defricheur & paveur et
 terrasseur 75 tt
 (83) Jacques Mouceaux defricheur 75 tt
 (84) Yves bastart defricheur 60 tt
 (85) hugues picart defricheur scieur de lonc
 75 tt
 (86) Guillaume gendron defricheur 75 tt

-
- (74) ou Valets et Valays. Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.
 (75) Aucune trace. Dut mourir en mer.
 (76) Epouse Perrine Mousnier en 1658.
 (77) Aucune trace. Dut mourir en mer.
 (78) Dit le Prime. Etait encore ici en 1667.
 (79) On écrit aussi Houray. Alla vivre et mourir dans région des
 Trois-Rivières.
 (80) Il signe Chevacet. Voir étude de Basset en 1656 et 1658.
 (81) Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.
 (82) dit Gilles. Tué en 1664.
 (83) dit La Violette. Epouse Marguerite Soviot en 1658.
 (84) Tué par les Iroquois en 1654.
 (85) dit Lafortune. Epouse Antoinette de Liercourt en 1660.
 (86) dit la Rolandière. Boucher et couvreur. Epouse Anne Loi-
 seau en 1664.

- (87) Louis de la Soudrais defricheur 75 tt
 (88) Jehan Olivier defricheur 60 tt
 (89) pierre Lefebvre defricheur 75 tt
 (90) Olivier Martin defricheur et masson 75 tt
 (91) Jehan Valiquet defricheur serreurier
 80 tt
 (92) Mathurin Langevin defricheur 75 tt
 (93) Louis fontaine defricheur scieur de lonc
 75 tt
 (94) Jehan denyau defricheur scieur de lonc
 75 tt
 (95) françois Crusson defricheur 30 tt
 avec 3 tt d'augmentaon pour chacune
 des années suivantes.
 (96) Jullien d'aubigeon defricheur laboureur
 150 tt
 (97) Olivier Baudoin defricheur 60 tt

(87) Etait encore ici en 1666.

(88) dit le Petit Breton. Figure dans les actes jusqu'en 1660.

(89) dit Lapierre. Boulanger. Sépulture en 1659.

(90) dit Lamontagne. Tué par les Iroquois en 1661.

(91) dit Laverdure. Epouse Renée Lopée en 1658.

(92) dit le Petit Lacroix. Epouse M. Renaud en 1654. Fut
 syndic en 1667.

(93) dit le Petit Louis. Semble être celui qui figure au recense-
 ment de 1666 sous le nom de Juron dit Fontaine.

(94) Faillon II, 541, par suite d'une erreur de lecture, le nomme
 Druzeau (Denyeau). Tué par les Iroquois en 1695.

(95) Dit Pilote. Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.

(96) Vint avec sa femme Perrine Meunier ou Mousnier. Tué par
 les Iroquois en 1655.

(97) Aucune trace. Probablement mort en mer.

(98) Jehan Oger defricheur	75 tt
(99) Louis Gregoire defricheur	75 tt
(100) Bertrand de Rennes defricheur	75 tt
(101) Jehan Tavernier defricheur & armurier	
100 tt	
(102) honoré Dany charpentier	100 tt
<hr/>	
	7481 tt

(98) Il signe: ian O G. On le nomme communément Auger dit Baron. Ne paraît pas être venu avec sa femme Louise Grisard.

(99) Était encore ici en 1662.

(100) dit Pachanne. Scieur de long. Était ici en 1667.

(101) dit Laforêt et la Lochetière. Compagnon de Dollard. Mort en 1660.

(102) Epouse Marie Bidard en 1658 et Pierrette Lapierre en 1666.

Au sujet de l'orthographe de son nom voir ante p. 6.

THE ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF MONTREAL.

Jubilee 1862-1912. (1)

Presidential Address of W. D. Lighthall, K. C.



LADIES and Gentlemen. — Though a little beyond the date, we celebrate this evening the Jubilee of the formal founding of the Society.

In this important seat of history, Montreal, the scene of numerous great events and school of many brave men it has found and filled a rare field of work. It has been active in preserving the picture of the past, not only of this community, but of our magnificent and fascinating Pro-

(1) The following letter is of interest in this connection:

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
156TH STREET, WEST OF BROADWAY
NEW YORK.

At a meeting of the Council of the American Numismatic Society, held June. 4th 1913, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the Council of The American Numismatic Society extends to the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal hearty congratulations on the completion of its first Half Century, and best wishes for future growth and prosperity.

Extract from the minutes of the Council.

BAUMAN L. BELDEN,

Secretary.

vince of Quebec, the nursery both of the French-Canadian race and its institutions and also,—what is not well known,—that of the British-Canadian race and its institutions; for Ontario was until 1791 a portion of Quebec and the first headquarters of its Loyalists were at Montreal. In this Province modern Canada was launched as well as ancient Canada preserved.

Still another historical heritage lies within our domain. Montreal is the mother of the Cities of the West. Seated at the gateway of the water highways she waved her sceptre over the interior of all North America. With one hand she welcomed civilisation to that limitless realm, and with the other she beckoned all the dusky peoples to her feet. She taught her sons and her citizens the dream of her destiny and sent them forth to discover and to found. The revered names of LaSalle, Duluth, Iberville, Bienville, Cadillac, Laclede, the Verendryes, Alexander Henry, Mackenzie, Fraser, Thompson, Sir John Johnson, live in eternal history from Louisiana to the Arctic Ocean and across the continent to the Pacific. New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Fort William, Duluth and St. Paul with many others, look hither for their originators. One of the obligations of this Society has been to keep guard over our end of that history.

I might add still another crown to these that belong to Montreal. In the dim beginnings of Canadian history, before even Cartier came, her predecessor, Hochelaga,—founded about the end of the 14th century by Iroquois town-builders,—is older than even Quebec, for Stadacona was an out-post of Hochelaga.

The earliest name by which the Society was known was The Numismatic Society of Montreal. It was "properly" organized in December, 1862, but was in fact somewhat older, for, like many such societies, its formal organization was preceded by informal meetings of the group composing it. The late Mr. James Ferrier, a charming and accomplished gentleman, told me that for about two years previous the English members, among whom were: Stanley C. Bagg, James Ferrier, Jr., James Rattray, Joshua L. Bronsdon, Daniel Rose, Alexander Murray and Lavens Mathewson, had been in the habit of assembling at his house, attracted by his extensive collection of gold and silver medals and coins. There was a French group which included: A. J. Boucher, J. A. Mousseau, L. A. Huguet-Latour, L. N. Duvernay, Dr. Hector Pelletier, J. E. Guilbault and Joseph Royal, who united with them at this time, of whom the leader was Mr. Adélar Joseph Boucher, a gentleman distin-

guished all his life as a most learned and ardent collector of coins and medals, and whom they elected the first President. The Vice-President was Mr. Stanley Clark Bagg, the Secretary, Mr. J. A. Mousseau, and the Treasurer, Mr. L. A. Huguet-Latour.

The French group appear to have also held informal meetings for some time before coalescing with the English group. It was soon found that the study of numismatics intimately interlaced with the broader subject of Canadian antiquities, so that in January, 1866, the name was changed to "The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal".

Its present form is "The Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal", under the Charter of 1912.

Our oldest member, Mr. R. W. McLachlan, has written a historical sketch of the Society from which the following details are taken:

FIFTY YEARS OF EFFORT.

BY R. W. McLACHLAN.

In December, 1862, 50 years ago, two groups of numismatists, which had been accreting for sometime separately on race lines, coalesced to form the Numismatic Society of Montreal.

These numismatists met and drew up a constitution and code of by-laws which was printed in French and English. The object of the Society as therein stated was for "the promotion of Numismatic Science and the formation of a cabinet and Library for the use of the members."

These first members were truly ambitious, for not only did their constitution provide for resident and corresponding members but also for "Fellows". The honorary title of Fellow of the Numismatic Society—F. N. S. was accorded to all members on their election "as in the opinion of the Society shall merit the distinction".

This honorary title was held in high esteem by the first officers of the Society for it appears appended to their names in a number of the publications of the time.

A committee was appointed to "prepare and publish a complete catalogue of British and American Coins", which consisted of A. J. Boucher, J. L. Bronsdon, L. A. Huguet-Latour and

Jas. Rattray, and before the end of 1863 sixteen pages in French and English describing 78 Canadian coins had been printed. To this was added two fine photographic plates, presented by Mr. William Notman, then a member of the Society.

The preface of this projected work states that : "On the formation of the Society the attention of members was directed to Numimastics *in general*. It was not long, however, before several members directed their researches towards the coins of these Provinces. The comparatively great variety—the artistic excellence of numerous specimens—and divers curious incidents bearing on these coins, excited the greatest astonishment and furnished ample material for many interesting reflections and surmises."

But these sixteen pages represents all the work ever accomplished by this committee. Six years later a new committee was formed and brought out an entirely new work on new lines.

In 1866, Stanley C. Bagg, the then president, believing the scope of the Society too limited and the number of numismatists in Montreal too few to accomplish any great success, submitted a plan for extending and enlarging its aims. He presented at the same time a draft of an amended constitution and by-laws with an elaborate seal. These proposals were adopted with few

changes, when the Numismatic Society became the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal. The seal then adopted is that still in use.

The objects of the Society as stated in the new constitution—"shall be for the promotion of Numismatic science and Antiquarian research, by bringing together persons possessed of information on kindred topics and by forming a Library and Museum of coins, medals and antiquities."

The conferring of the honorary distinction of F. N. S., which had fallen into desuetude, was abandoned under the new constitution, save that provision was made that "the present Life Members, Fellows and corresponding members shall retain their titles.....in as full and ample a manner as if the name of the Society had not been changed."

An act of incorporation was passed by the Legislature towards the close of 1869 and assented to in the beginning of 1870.

Four only of the original members appear on the application, showing that all the others had either died or resigned in the mean time. During the following five years, three of these four had also ceased to be active members. Of the original members, only one, Lavens Mathewson, survives, but he resigned early in the history of

the Society and removed to Belfast, Ireland, where he now resides.

In 1870, Mr. Alfred Sandham had the first medal of the Society struck to commemorate the act of incorporation.

In 1872, the Society's official organ, *The Canadian Antiquarian* was launched, with Alfred Sandham as chief editor.

About the same time the Society was accorded an annual grant of \$200 to aid in its original research, but in the course of ten or twelve years this pittance was withdrawn.

On the 26th of June, 1877, the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society opened its first exhibition to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the introduction of printing into England, by William Caxton. This exhibition brought together the finest collection of Canadian, as well as British and foreign, incunabula ever assembled under one roof in Canada. It was a surprise to the book-lover that such a wealth of early printed books was to be found in Canada.

In December 1887, the members celebrated the quarter centennial of the Society by an exhibit of early Canadian Portraits and prints. This was another surprise to our Canadian citizens to know that good oil portraits existed of so many of our celebrated Canadians. It was, in

fact, this exhibit that inspired some of the members with the idea of forming a Canadian National Portrait Gallery.

At the same time two medals were struck to commemorate the event. They were the work of a celebrated Belgian Medallist; one bears a portrait of the late Mr. Justice Baby, who for many years so efficiently served the Society as its most devoted president.

About the year 1890, a committee was appointed to mark the points of historic interest in the city, and in the course of the following four or five years erected from 50 to 75 marble tablets indicating the spots where the most stirring events in the history of Montreal had occurred and where some of the most prominent citizens lived.

In May, 1891, the members of the Society participated in arrangements to entertain the Royal Society of Canada on its first visit to Montreal. One of the members of this Society was detailed to write a history of Montreal for the occasion. In the course of this historical sketch the writer, in describing the Château de Ramezay, asked the question: "Should not the government make the building over to the city with the proviso that it should be retained as a specimen of old Montreal?"

In the fall of the same year, 1891, the Society pledged itself to undertake the work of trying to save the Château.

A year passed and the 250th anniversary of the city was being celebrated. The members of this Society entered heartily into this work, and at the request of the Montreal Exposition Company organized a third exhibition, this time of Canadian Antiquities, portraits and prints. This showed what a wealth of Canadian Antiquities was to be found in the country waiting to form the proposed Museum.

This effort of the Society with respect to the Château continued until 1893, when the government advertised the building to be sold at public auction. The members then redoubled their efforts. A public meeting was called, presided over by the Mayor. This meeting passed a resolution asking the city council to purchase the Château for the purpose of preserving it as a relic of Old Montreal and for housing an Antiquarian Museum and public Library.

On the 23rd of October, the day previous to the sale, a deputation of the Society appeared before the Council and presented the petition of the citizens and the resolution passed at the public meeting. After considerable discussion and opposition the Mayor was authorized to pur-

chase the lot on which the Château stood. This purchase was not sufficient, so on the suggestion of the Mayor, the members of the Society, with their friends, bought in the remainder of the block which in course of time the city was induced to take over.

This effort to attain their object continued until June, 1895, when a new deputation from the Society appeared before the Council with an offer to instal in the Château an Antiquarian Museum, Portrait Gallery and Library, which in the course of five years would be equal in value to \$20,000. At that time the Society's collection was hardly worth \$5,000, while it was overloaded by debt of more than double that amount, caused by the efforts it had been making.

In June, 1895, our embryo museum was installed in the Château, then in a state of great disrepair. What has been accomplished in the intervening years is apparent. We have more than doubled our promise in intrinsic value, besides saving to posterity many historical objects of inestimable worth.

Although thus installed, our next effort was to make our occupation permanent. After prolonged effort we had our lease extended to twenty-five years, but shortly afterwards we had to send a deputation down to Quebec, to

wait upon the Private Bills Committee of the Legislative Council, to prevent the expropriation of the Château which was embodied in an Act for the extension of the Bonsecours Market, which had passed the Legislative Assembly. This effort proved successful by the securing of an amendment to the effect, "that, nothing in this Act shall interfere with the Château de Ramezay as it now is."

The next year a banquet was given by the late H. J. Tiffin to inaugurate a library he had presented to the Society to form the nucleus of a public library for Montreal in the Château. A medal was struck to commemorate the occasion.

In June, 1900, the Society entertained the members of the American Library Association at the Château de Ramezay, and through their efforts it has been well advertised ever since, as hardly a visitor comes to our city from the United States without visiting the Château.

About this time the Society, never having abandoned the \$10,000 offered by the Government for the preserving of the building in perpetuity, waited on the Provincial Ministers, to ask that this amount should be handed over to the Society. This the Government would not do, but agreed to pay the Society interest on the amount at the rate of four per cent per annum.

This has materially helped our finances ever since.

In 1905, the 200th anniversary of the erection of the Chateau was celebrated by a public reception for which a commemorative medal was struck and distributed to the guests."

During its early years, the Society numbered amongst its members several historical authorities of distinction, such as William Kingsford, William McLennan, Alfred Sandham, Dr. Samuel E. Dawson, Gerald Hart, Judge Baby, Sir James Lemoine, Henry Mott and the Hon. Pierre J. O. Chauveau; and numismatic authorities such as Adélarde Boucher, P. O. Tremblay, and Robert Wallace McLachlan, with other scholars, carrying on excellent work. It was in truth a circle of virtuosi. Their meetings were generally held at members' houses amid prized collections, old portraits and armorial silver.

It was a rare privilege to sit around those delightful boards. Many historical facts and conclusions were passed on in the discussions and conversations and false notions confuted. Thus traditions were transmitted and extinct customs explained and the air was full of interesting anecdotes and sayings on such occasions.

Let me mention some of the achievements of the Society:

One of the most valuable has been the publication of "*The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*". It was commenced in July, 1872, chiefly through the enterprise of Alfred Sandham, but with the able cooperation of Daniel Rose, Henry Mott, R. W. McLachlan and other writers. Notwithstanding several interruptions of the series, twenty-six volumes in all have appeared, containing many precious and instructive materials for Canadian history and numerous documents of the first value—a veritable monument of scholarly energy. Things are there recorded which have passed away leaving no other record, and others difficult of access are treated with a completeness unattainable elsewhere. It is in such by-ways of history that the past generally becomes most vivid. The old numbers of the Journal are now of great rarity and some unprocurable. Those who receive the current issues should preserve them carefully. The Journal was never better edited than under the present editorial committee headed by the Chairman, Mr. Samuel Baylis, the well-known author, and having such learned contributors as Messrs. Massicotte, Lapalice, McLachlan and Thomas O'Leary.

Another achievement of the Society has been its collections of old portraits, antiquities, docu-

ments and books of which access has been freely given to the public, to historians and to enquirers. I am only repeating the deliberate statement of one of the most expert of historical collectors, Mr. John Ross Robertson, donor of the Robertson Historical Gallery to Toronto, that our museum not only is the richest of the kind in Canada but in all America. We are well aware that through lack of funds we are obliged to leave it very imperfect in a number of respects, but we think we can legitimately point with satisfaction to the numerous original portraits of historical persons, unique copies, irreplaceable views, rare antiquarian books, and objects saved from the wrecks of former days by the zeal of our members and the generosity of donors. Historians frequently draw upon these stores for their illustrations and facts. The only thing we would ask is that this powerful and rich City should pay a little more attention to what is here being done for it and put us in a position to do the work efficiently.

I now come to the principal achievement of the Society—the establishment of the Château de Ramezay Historical Museum, Portrait Gallery and Library. In 1887, the Society held a highly successful and interesting exhibition of Canadian Historical portraits to celebrate its twenty-

fifth year, the first historical portrait exhibition ever held in America. A repetition was given several years later in connection with the Montreal exhibition. The idea was that of Mr. DeLery Macdonald, who having an extensive acquaintance with French Canadian portraits and genealogy conceived the scheme of a "National Portrait Gallery". Independently of these facts there was in 1890 an outcry about the proposal of the provincial government to sell or destroy the Château de Ramezay, the former Government House. The late Roswell Corse Lyman, a skilled student of antiquities and once Secretary of the Society, strongly urged the saving of the building. I had given the matter much thought, and being closely associated with Mr. DeLery Macdonald, had taken a share in the work of the two portrait exhibitions. I was also acquainted with the historical museums of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. I therefore conceived the project of combining all these disconnected elements. Into the project of having the Society take steps to acquire the Château and instal a historical museum in it, with Mr. McDonald's portrait gallery, an Indian Collection, and a historical library, Mr. Macdonald readily concurred, and I then mentioned it to Mr. McLachlan. Three

weeks afterwards the latter came to us with a proposal to emphasize and enlarge the public library phase, to which we had no objection. With their support, I then brought up the proposal at a meeting of the Society, whereupon Mr. McLachlan moved its adoption. All the principal members then joined in a campaign to carry out the project and after some five years of persistent and united though usually discouraging efforts, we were at length successful. In 1895, we took possession of the venerable building under a twenty-five years nominal lease from the City and installed the beginnings of our collections, and library. They are now of very large value and from a national, civic and intellectual point of view priceless. The best of our exhibits is of course the Château itself, — this unique monument,, alive with the shades of innumerable heroes, statesmen, famous chiefs, Loyalists, discoverers, scholars, peasants, trappers, seigneurs, grandes dames, and religieuses, of all that was best, most significant and most brilliant in old French Canada and old British Canada, for the past two hundred years. In these storied salons and chambers and massive castle vaults, we can ever hear their voices.

From the first, we were fortunate in securing as custodian of the Château a true lover and in-

intelligent judge of the antique, Thomas O'Leary, who combines all the best qualities of his great branch of the British race. To him we are indebted for many improvements of the building and its contents, for the catalogue, and for several valued contributions to the Antiquarian. Only recently he has been the object of a murderous attack by a would-be robber, whom he foiled by his presence of mind and his indomitable courage.

Among the results of the Society's activities might be added the erection of the Maisonneuve Monument, formation of the Women's Branch, which meets successfully monthly in the Château, a number of excursions and visits to places and buildings of historical interest, such as Fort Ticonderoga, Forts Chambly and Isle-aux-Noix, St. Eustache, Châteauguay Battlefield, Caughnawaga, the Court House Archives, the Convent of the Congregation, and others; the erection of the series of historical tablets throughout the City, the saving of Bonsecours Church and of the Flaxman bas-reliefs which were placed originally in the *façade* of the old Bank of Montreal and may now be seen on the walls of the Post office, and other antiquities, and the striking of several medals and tokens. This evening

another will be added to the list, in the beautiful plaquette commemorative of the Jubilee. (1)

We claim still another achievement.—From the beginning it has been our pride that we are a union of the two races. Founded by the coalescence of the two groups, our membership has been at all times a mixed one, and our list of officers always one-half of French speech, the other half of English. Our late President, that chivalrous representative of the *noblesse*, Judge Baby, used to say that ours was the only circle where the two races were accustomed to meet *socially* and therefore that we were doing a work of untold value.

By the impartial collection of the materials of history, we have been the cause of exploding many false prejudices and myths, and have shown how much there is to respect and love in the record of two great races here. The Temple of History is the Temple of Truth, and is also the Shrine of Justice.

In closing his sketch, Mr. McLachlan says:—

(1) A facsimile of the Plaquette is given on another page. The issue was limited to 100 exemplars and the die has been defaced. A few remaining copies may be had at the Château, price \$5 each.—EDITOR.

"Let us recapitulate the Herculean labours accomplished by this Society which had its beginnings in a dozen of numismatists meeting together fifty years ago.

1st.—It published the earliest catalogue of Canadian coins.

2nd.—It published five catalogues of exhibitions and the Museum, aggregating 1,000 pages.

3rd.—It has issued 26 volumes of the Canadian Antiquarian numbering over 5,000 pages.

4th.—It has had struck five medals and one bronze plaquette to commemorate different events in the history of the Society.

5th.—It has had from 50 to 75 marble tablets erected to point out places of interest, in the City.

6th.—It has held three exhibitions of historic and antiquarian interest.

7th.—It has established one of the finest Museums, a unique portrait gallery, and a library of surpassing interest.

8th.—It has saved from destruction the Château de Ramezay, one of the most important historic monuments in Canada."

But our work for the past leads also to the future. We must *continue* to carry out these lines of public duty. We must *continue* to say proudly

that "Service is honor". We must *continue* to preserve the relics and monuments of the past. We must also organize specific new projects. May I suggest the following:—1.—The provision of a sufficient *Endowment Fund* to permit the present museum to be rendered safe and properly manned and to make the various collections complete. 2.—The doubling of our portrait gallery which is lacking in many things; 3.—An Indian Collection, of which we have now scarcely the commencement; 4.—A complete collection of *old costumes*,—such as the Swiss, Dutch and Swedish, National Museums contain,—peasant, noble, military, ecclesiastical, Indian, and perhaps those of various interesting types of immigrants; 5.—A monument to the French discoverers, LaSalle, Lamothe, Cadillac, and the Verendryes; 6.—A Monument to our English discoverers, Sir Alex. Mackenzie, Fraser, Henry and Thompson; 7.—The marking of more historical sites, including the line of the old fortification wall and bastions across the surface of the Champ de Mars.

Assembled as we are this evening in this richly stored house of the past, summing up the struggles and results of fifty years, we can see present to the eye of the spirit, those generous and highminded lovers of the country and empire, the

donors of these precious gifts to the people, the scholars who gave so much of their lives to enrich this city with truth and beautiful memories, the intellectual faces of Ferrier, of Boucher, of Chauveau, Baby, Mott, Sicotte, Roswell Lyman, Sandham, Kingsford, Edward and Peter Murphy and all their kindly old-time company. Companions of the past! ye know well that antiquarians do not forget.

LES PREMIERES PAGES DU REGISTRE
DE LA PAROISSE DE MONTREAL.

PAR O. M. H. LAPALICE.

Archiviste de la Fabrique de Notre-Dame.

ELLES sont bien partagées, les institutions, qui, ayant toujours joui d'une certaine importance, ayant derrière elles des siècles d'existence, ont leur histoire écrite.

La "Paroisse de Montréal", ainsi nommée jusqu'à ces dernières années, eut toujours sa place marquante dans l'histoire de cette ville; fut témoin de son origine, de ses développements et de ses progrès.

De plus, en écrivant fidèlement l'histoire de ses faits et gestes, elle a su la compiler et conserver fidèlement, et précieusement jusqu'à ce jour.

La paroisse était pour les premiers colons de Montréal, comme dans la suite pour les habitants de cette province, le centre où convergaient toute aspiration, tout mouvement et toute ambition.

Il ne pouvait en être autrement, quand, fondée sous les auspices de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne, dans un temps où il y avait encore union de

l'Eglise et de l'Etat, elle fut commencée par des hommes imbus de bonnes moeurs et d'esprit religieux, et la compagnie des Cent Associés avait pour but, du moins de droit, la propagation de la Foi et la conversion des sauvages de la Nouvelle-France.

Le bras séculier prêtait main-forte à l'Eglise dans l'accomplissement des lois de celle-ci. On donnait son travail pour la construction du temple, et le plus clair du revenu à son entretien.

L'Eglise avait sa part dans presque toute aumône; les amendes, imposées pour délit, étaient versées dans son trésor; elle fut héritière universelle de plus d'un testateur, et toute promesse, y compris la gageure de Lambert Closse, était à son bénéfice.

Durant les quinze premières années de Montréal, il n'y eut pas de paroisse proprement dite; les colons, encore très peu nombreux et resserrés dans l'enceinte du fort, étant desservis par les RR. PP. Jésuites.

Ce fut en 1657, date de l'arrivée des Sulpiciens, que furent jetées les bases de la Fabrique de Notre-Dame de Montréal.

Toutes les minutes des assemblées de la paroisse mériteraient d'être lues textuellement, tant elles sont intéressantes; nous ne rapporterons pas toutes les élections des marguilliers,

qui furent toujours choisis, depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours, parmi les citoyens marquants de la Paroisse, ni la reddition de leurs comptes, à la fin de chaque année. Nous nous contenterons de feuilleter les pages du premier volume du registre des assemblées, et d'annoter les plus saillantes.

On lit comme suit la première page du registre de la Paroisse de Montréal :

“Le XXI Novembre 1657 Jour de la presentaon
“Nostre Dame, les habitants de Montreal se sont
“assemblez pour proceder a l'eslection des Mar-
“guilliers de la parroisse dud. lieu, et à la plura-
“lité de Leurs Voyx ont esté esleu les sieurs
“Louis prud'homme, Jean Gervaise et Gilles
“Barbier, et ce en la pnce. de Mr Gabriel Souart
“prestre Curé de lad. parre. et Monsieur de Mai-
“sonneuve, Gouverneur dud. Lieu.”

Basset Notaire.

C'est là, je crois, la première assemblée générale de tous les citoyens de la région de Montréal comprenant les chefs des autorités civile et religieuse ; la première élection du peuple élisant ses représentants, et la fondation de la plus vieille compagnie de Montréal.

Cet acte comme les subséquents, jusqu'en 1666, est une copie du greffe du notaire Basset qui s'intitule : “commis au greffe et tabellionnage

de Ville-marie pour les Messieurs les associez pour la conversion des sauvages de la Nouvelle france en l'Isle de Montreal."

Basset était alors encore jeune, rédigeait ses actes d'une belle et régulière écriture, qu'il devait négliger plus tard.

Comme il fallait des fonds pour faire fonctionner l'oeuvre et fabrique récemment fondée, le 9 décembre suivant, les marguilliers reçoivent, par l'entremise de Marin Janot, Pierre Gadois et Robert Lecavelier, au nom des "Associés" de Montréal, les dons suivants, des différentes personnes : 1,420 livres en marchandises ; plus 1,128 livres aussi en marchandise. 8 livres de castor demi-gras et un demi livre de veusle ; 325 livres en marchandise, plus 250 livres de Lambert Closse, et 40 livres de Pierre Gadois.

Les lois de l'Evangile et des bonnes moeurs devaient être, dans le temps, d'une bien stricte observance, puisque leur transgression était punie bien sévèrement. L'acte suivant nous en donne un exemple frappant :

Paul de Chemedy, gouuer. de l'Isle de Montreal en la Nouvelle france et terres qui en dependent, Sur la plainte qui Nous a esté faite par Jean Millot taillandier et habitant de Villemarie en lisle de Montreal Le lundy vingt neufiesme octobre dernier, allencontre du nommé Louis de

la Saudraye aussy habitant dudit Lieu, contenant que la nuict du samedi au dimanche vingt huictiesme dud. mois d'octobre, Ledit de la saudraye auroit attenté contre l'honneur de la femme dud. Millot, surquoy apres auoir Interrogé la femme dud. Millot, comme aussy Jeanne hebert et Ledit Louis de la saudraye, Nous auons déclaré led. de la saudraye attint et conuaincu du cas a luy Imposé par led. Millot. Pour Reparation. de quoy, Nous auons ordonné que les terres que led. de la Saudraye a deffrichées sur le domaine des seigneurs de Montreal, conjointement avec les Nommez, le Roy, Gasteau et Jouanneau, Contenant pour la part dud. de la Saudraye enuiron trois arpens et demy de terre, demeureront acquis et confisque., scauoir la moitié au profit de leglise de Montreal aud. Villemarie et lautre moitié au profit des Enfans Naiz et a Naistre dud. Millot et sa femme et ce aux mesmes Condictions que led. de la Saudraye tenoit lesd. terres des seigneurs de Montreal, fait au fort de Villemarie le dixie. Jour de Novembre mil six cent cinquante sept, signé Paul de chomedy, Basset Greffier

avec paraphe.

Le 12 octobre 1661, apparaissent trois déclarations solennelles, et devant notaire, de Michel Paroissien, Marin Janot et Tèle Cornélius (ce

dernier natif d'Irlande), par lesquelles déclarations, il est stipulé que, Urbain Tessier dit Lavigne, détenu prisonnier par les Iroquois, et condamné à être brûlé, donne, en cas de mort, tous ses biens à l'Eglise paroissiale de Ville-Marie.

Cette donaison n'eut pas son effet, puisque Tessier apparaît plus tard. (1)

Parmi les diverses fondations ou legs pieux, dont l'exécution est encore aujourd'hui à la charge de l'Eglise Notre-Dame, mentionnons quelques-unes de celles dont l'origine remonte au commencement de la Colonie, et que nous rencontrons au passage.

Le 27 août 1662, Jean Aubuchon donne à l'Eglise 300 livres tournois, pour faire célébrer 6 messes basses; les premiers jeudis de Janvier, Mars, Mai, Juillet, Septembre et Novembre de chaque année et à perpétuité.

Le 6 septembre de la même année, Dame Barbe de Boulogne, veuve de Louis Dailleboust donne à l'Eglise 716 livres et 10 sols, pour faire

(1) Urbain Tessier était captif des Iroquois depuis plusieurs mois; et dans l'intervalle de sa captivité, sa femme donna naissance à un enfant, dont l'acte de baptême se lit comme suit: "Le 7 juin 1661 a été baptisé Urbain filz d'Urbain Tessier habitant pris par les Iroquois le 24me. Mars dernier Et on ne scait s'il est mort ou en Vie, et de Marie Archambeault sa femme. Le Parrain Giles Lozon chaudronnier. La Marraine Catherine Gauchet, fille de Noble homme Claude Gauchet Et de suzanne du feu.

célébrer le premier juin de chaque année, anniversaire du décès de son époux, une messe chantée au maître-autel; le marguillier en charge devant faire l'offrande d'une pinte de vin et d'un pain de trois livres pour le sacrifice.

Le 19 octobre 1666, Monsieur Souart, ancien Curé, donne 125 livres pour faire brûler à perpétuité, une lampe ardente, devant le maître-autel; plus 200 livres tournois pour faire célébrer dans l'Octave de Noël, une messe chantée, en l'honneur de l'Enfant Jésus.

L'Eglise Notre-Dame s'acquitte encore aujourd'hui avec une exacte fidélité de ces diverses fondations, et des nombreuses et diverses autres instituées depuis ces temps reculés; y compris la lampe de Mr Souart qui brûle encore.

La population de Montréal étant en ce temps-là devenue relativement nombreuse, et la chapelle de l'hôpital, où avaient eu lieu jusqu'alors les exercices du culte, étant devenue trop étroite, le besoin d'une église plus spacieuse se faisait sentir. Aussi Mgr. de Laval dans sa troisième visite pastorale à Ville-Marie, en l'an 1669, convoqua à cet effet, une assemblée des habitants de Montréal.

Vu l'importance de cette assemblée rapportons-en le texte *in extenso*:

Le Dimanche dousieme Jour de May gbrC (mil six) soixante neuf, de Releuée, L'assemblée des hants. de L'Isle de Montreal s'est tenue, en la salle de Messieurs Les Ecclesiastiques dud. lieu, Conuoquée par Monseigneur L'Illustrissime et Reuerrendissime Euesque de Petrée, nommé par le Roy premier Euesque la nouvelle france, (1) pour delliberer sur les Expedients les plus Conuenables pour Là bastisse de L'Eglise parroissiale dud. Lieu, ou estoient presents et se seroient trouuez Mre. Gilles Perrot Prestre Curé de ladicte parre. Mre. Gabriel Souart Pre. et ancien Curé d'Icelle Mre. Dominique Galinier ausy Prestre dud. lieu avec les sieurs Marguilliers en charge, Partye des anciens et autre. faisant et representant la plus saine partye desd. hans. soubzsignez et autre., et en laquelle assemblée apres que Mond. seigneur, A Representé La necessité Absolue qu'il y a de Bastir une Eglise parroissiale aud. Montreal, et plusieurs Conferances sur ce sujet a esté Conclud ce qui ensuit.

C'est à scauoir

Premierement Pour le Lieu et place de ladicte Eglise, a este accordé et conuenu, de prendre et achepter La terre des heritiers de deffunct Jean

(1) Mgr. de Laval, ne fut nommé évêque de Québec, par le pape, alors Clément X, que le 1er octobre 1674, et prêta serment de fidélité au Roi le 23 avril 1675.

de St. pere scituée au lieu designé pour la Ville, pourueu que le fondement ce trouue Bon, suiuant le sufrage de la Voyx de Vingt personnes, ne s'en estant trouué pour la tere de Monsieur Souart que huict, a cent Bens (1) l'arpent, du consentement du sr. Jacques le Moyne tuteur desd. mineurs et du sr. Louis preudhomme Curateur qui ont signé a cet effet.

Secondement. Que Lon commencera a trauailler a ladicte Eglise, au huictième Juin prochain.

Troisiemement. Que le sieur Basset aura le soin et l'Intendance des trauaux, au gages de trente liures par mois.

Francois euesque de petrée G. Souart G. Perrot Curé Dupuis Louys prudhomme J. Lemoyne gille Lauson LeBer jasque picot Jehan geruaise f. Bailly

Basset Not.

Mais les choses traînèrent en langueur pendant trois années. La succession de Jean St. Père n'ayant pu être accommodée au but proposé; la terre dudit St. Père ayant été jugée "dans un lieu bas et sur une petite éminence enuironnée de petits vallons qui retiennent les eaux plu-

(1) A ce mot qui semble bien tel que transcrit, je n'ai pu trouver la signification.

uiales et fonte des neiges, et ou la terre ne se trouue pas auoir vu bon sol”;

“Joint aussi qu’il n’y auoit pour y arriuer qu’une seule auenue” il fut décidé dans une assemblée le 6 Juin 1672, de construire l’église “sur la hauteur” designée par Mr. Dollier, qui “n’entendoit point donner la terre qui joint le seminaire; mais celle qui sera entre Urbain Tessier et Jean Desroches”. De plus, les MM. de St. Sulpice “ayant depuis peu achepté la terre de “Nicolas Godé et celle de la femme de Jacques “Lemoyne qui sont derriere la maison de leur “Communauté”, on les prierait d’achepter le demy arpent appartenant à Agathe St Pere au prix de trois cent livres l’arpent tel que déjà convenu. Les seigneurs de Montréal avaient déjà le dessein de bâtir un corps de logis pour y établir une plus grande communauté, et de construire une galerie qui les conduira facilement et à couvert à l’endroit désigné de l’église.

Le tout fut accepté tel que projeté et stipulé, et les contrats de vente et d’échange furent passés.

Le mardi 20 juin 1672, tel qu’il avait été arrêté laveille dans une assemblée tenue encore dans la chapelle de l’hôpital, fut définitivement choisi et désigné l’endroit “pour bastir l’Eglise paroissiale avec ses contours” et le lendemain le 21 juin, on ouvrit la première tranchée.

Le sieur François Bailly, maître maçon, fut chargé de la conduite des travaux au salaire de 30 livres par mois.

Il fut décidé d'acheter la charpente d'un hangard appartenant aux Messieurs du Séminaire, au prix d'estimation qu'en ferait Gilbert Barbier maître charpentier, pour commencer la charpente de l'Eglise. (1)

"Le Mercredi 29e dud. Mois de Juin, feste de st. Pierre & de St. Paul la procession se fist aud. Lieu désigné à l'Issue des Vespres avec concours de peuple ou led. Sieur dollier de Casson aud. nom planta la Croix en L'absence de mond. Sr Perot Curé pour lors incommodé."

"Et Le Landemain 30e et dernier Jour dud. Mois de Juin pareille procession se fit aud. Lieu apres la grande Messe avec concours de peuple ou led. Sr dollier aud. nom pour L'absence dud. Sr. Curé avec les Ceremonies accoustumez en la ste. Eglise fist poser les premiers pierres avec Escriteaux et armes grauées sur des plaques destain et de plomb en la maniere qj suit."

Le Première Pierre

"A esté posée dans le milieu du rompoint de lad. Eglise par Monseigneur de Courcelle et sur Icelle

(1) C'est l'église qui occupait le milieu de la rue Notre-Dame, entre l'église actuelle et la Place d'Armes, démolie en 1830.

y a este mis vne grande Placque d'Estain ou sont
graeuz ses armes avec ces parolles

D. O. M.

&

Beatae Mariae Virgini
sub Titulo Purificationis

“L’an 1672 le 30 Jour de Juin cette premiere
Pierre a esté posée par Messire Daniel de Remy
Cheuallier Seigneur de Courcelle Lieutenant
General des armées du Roy et Gouverneur de
Canada, Acadie, Isles de Terre neuue et autres
pays de la France septentrionale, Estant Curé
Mre. Gilles perot l’un des prestres du Seminajre
de St. Sulpice de Paris seigneurs de cette Isle
lesquels deseruent cette Eglise, Noble homme
Pierre Picoté sr. de Belestre Marguillier d’hon-
neur, Mr Pierre Gadois Marguillier en charge,
et Mr Jean Aubuchon Marguillier comptable.”

“La seconde pierre a été posée dans L’Angle
droit de la premiere chapelle de lad. Eglise par
noble hoe. Philippe de Carion Lieutenant de Mr.
de la Motte St. Paul au lieu et place de Monsieur
Talon, et sur icelle a eté mise Vne grande plaque
detain ou sont grauées ses armes avec ces pa-
roles.

D. O. M.

&

Beatae Mariae Virgini
sub Titulo Purificationis

Lan mil six cent soixante-deux le trentieme jour de Juin cette première pierre a été posée par Messire Jean Talon Coner. du Roy en son Conseil d'état et priué Intendant de la justice police et finance de Canada, Acadie Iles de terre neuue et autres pays de la france septentrionale, etant Curé Messire Gilles Perot l'Vn des Prestres du seminaire de St. Sulpice de Paris Seigrs. de cette Ile lesquels deseruent cette paroisse, noble homme Pierre Picoté Ecuyer sr. de Belletre Marguillier d'honneur et Mre. Pierre Gadois Marguillier en charge et Mr. Jean Aubuchon Marguillier comptable."

La Troisième Pierre

"A Esté posée par Monsieur Perrot dans L'Angle droit de la seconde chapelle et sur icelle a esté mise vne Grande Plaque de plomb out sont marquées ses armes avec ces parolles.

D. O. M.

&

Beatae Mariae Virgini
sub Titulo Purificationis

"Lan 1672 le 30 iour de Juin cette première Pierre a esté posée par Messire Francois Marie

Perrot Cheualier Seigneur de St. Geneuiefue et autres Lieus Gouverneur pour Le Roy de l'Isle de Montreal, èstant pour lors Curé Messire Gilles Perot l'vn des Prestres du seminaire de St. Sulpice de Paris Seigneur de cette Isle lesquels deseruent cette Eglise, Noble homme Pierre picoté Escuyer Sr. de Belestre Marguillier d'honneur, Mr. Pierre Gadojs Marguillier en charge, Mr. Jean Aubuchon Marguillier Comptable."

La Quatriesme Pierre

"A Esté posée par Messire Francoys Dollier dans L'Angle gauche de la première Chapelle et sur Icelle a esté mise vne grande placque d'Estain ou est marqué Le chiffre du seminaire avec ces parolles.

D. O. M.

&

Beatae Mariae Virgini
sub Titulo Purificationis

"L'an 1672 le 30 Jour de Juin cette première Pierre a esté posée par Messire Francois Dollier de Casson l'vn des pretres du seminaire de St. Sulpice de Parjs, seigneur de cette Isle et superieur des Ecclesiastiques dud. seminaire deservans cette paroisse, Estant Curé pour lors Mre. Gilles Perot,... & &"

La Cinquiesme Pierre

A Esté posée dans L'Angle gauche de la seconde chapelle par Damelle. Jeanne Mance Administratrice de L'hospital et sur icelle a esté mise vne grande placque d'Estain ou est graué vn St. Joseph avec ces parolles.

D. O. M.

&

**Beatae Mariae Virgini
sub Titulo Purificationis**

L'An 1672 le 30 Jour de Juin cette première Pierre a esté posée par Damelle. Jeanne Mance Administratrice de l'hospital de St. Joseph de Montreal, estant Curé Messire Gilles Perot & & c.

A la fin de ce rapport, ainsi que du précédent on retrace les signatures des suivants.

Francois Dollier, Gilles Perot Curé, Gabriel Souart ancien curé, J. Fremont Prêtre, M. Barthelemy Prêtre, Remy Sous diacre, Ranuyer economer du seminaire, De Belestre, Pierre Gadois, Jean Aubuchon, Chs. Dailleboust Juge, Migeon de Branssat, proc. fiscal, L. Cheuallier, Gilbert barbier, andré charly, J. Lemoyne, Gilbert Lauzon, F. Bailly sergent, E. Brossard, F. Martinet dit Fomblanche, P. Lanceleur, Cabazier, francois boulart, René Dardaine, Jacque Mi-

chalon, C. Robutel, J. Valliquet, Jehan Ger-
naïse, Dupuis maior, P. Desuatels & &. (1)

Le 30 novembre 1674, il y eut assemblée, sous la présidence de Mr. Souart, ou étaient présents "Jean Migeon aduocat en la cour de Parlement de Paris", Benigne Basset et plusieurs des principaux habitants de l'Ile de Montréal et lieux circonvoisins dépendants de la Paroisse, "au sujet de la construction de la cloture du cimetière de lad.' Paroisse, pour l'enclorre de pieux à coulice sur pièces De bois et empecher par ce moyen que les bestiaux n'y entrent plus, comme ils ont fait le Passé."

A cet effet, il fut décidé de nommer un habitant par chaque quartier de l'Ile, qui accompagnerait Mr. Jean Fremont Pretre du seminaire pour aller recevoir les aumones de chacun.

La dite cloture, étant construite avec les derniers des habitants de la Paroisse, devait, pour

(1) La troisième pierre, posée par Perrot est une plaque en plomb de forme carrée, 8 par 9 pouces, et de 2 lignes d'épaisseur. Les autres sont de forme circulaire, en étain, mesurant de 9 à 10 pouces en diamètre, et environ $\frac{1}{2}$ ligne d'épaisseur. Ces dernières, semblent, d'après l'opinion de M. S. M. Baylis, laquelle semble bien plausible, être des assiettes où autres ustensiles de vaisselle, qui auraient été aplaties pour en faire disparaître l'excavation. Les deuxième et troisième plaques sont conservées à la Fabrique; la quatrième est au Séminaire St-Sulpice. On y lit aussi l'inscription suivante qui date de la démolition de ladite Eglise: "Cette Insctption a été levée par Paul Joseph Lacroix, Ecuier, "Marguillier en charge, le 29 septembre 1830."

la conservation des droits de l'Eglise, être exempt de toute prétention de la part des voisins attenants au Cimetière, et ceux-ci ne devaient avoir aucun droit de moitié sur Icelle.

A cette même assemblée, on procéda à l'élection de deux marguilliers en remplacement de Jean Aubuchon dont le terme d'office expirait; à savoir d'un "marguillier d'honneur pour les gentils hommes et autres vivant noblement, et un marguillier en charge des marchands et habitants," ce à quoi, on a acquiescé.

Et à l'égard de l'élection d'un marguillier d'honneur, quelques-uns protestèrent qu'à Québec il n'y a pas de distinctions de marguilliers, et qu'il ne devait pas y en avoir non plus à Montréal. Migeon, parlant pour les nobles, fit observer que c'est une coutume très louable observée dans toute l'ancienne France et particulièrement à Paris, dont on suit icy les coutumes."

Le Curé laissa toute liberté de discussion "Jusques à ce que Monseigr. L'Euesque en ait ordonné, et après avoir procédé à la collection des voix", le Sr. Pigeon habitant de l'Ile, et le Sr. Fomblanche maître chirurgien et habitant en icelle, furent choisis et élus.

En 1676, le 26 janvier il fut résolu :

1o que le bois qui nécessaire pour la batisse de l'eglise se prendra tant sur le domaine des

seigneurs que sur toutes les habitations de cette Isle, suivant la permission qu'en a presentement donnée Monsr. Souart pour lesd. Seigneurs, à la reserve qu'il fait des Grands Chesnes blancs et droits propre pour fe. des poutres.

2o que Mr. Estienne Truteau fera Cent pointiers d'Epinette et mesme davantage s'il en peut ergs. soit necessaire.

3o que lestdits pointiers et autres bois seront amenés tant sur les neiges que par eau.

4o que les Madriez auront deux poulces d'épaisseur et seront acheptés de ceux qui en feront le meilleur marché jusques au nombre de quatre Cent.

5o que le Sr Aubuchon Marguillier en charge et celuy quj Luy succedera en lad. charge tirera des billets sur ceux quj ont promjs pour fe. les paymens necessaires, et que les dits billets seront signes de Monss. le Curé et dud. Marguillier en charge.

En 1660, on inscrit une ordonnance de l'Euêque de Québec, laquelle prescrit que l'élection des marguilliers, qui jusqu'à ce jour, avait été faite par le peuple, sera à l'avenir et dorénavant, faite par les nouveaux et anciens marguilliers.

En 1683, le 16 Juin, fut benite la cloche de l'Eglise paroissiale par Mr. Dollier de Casson.

Le parain en fut Antoine Lefebvre de la Barre gouverneur de la nouvelle france. La maraine Elisabeth Souart, épouse de Charles Lemoine, Baron de Longueuil. "On donna à la Cloche le Nom d'Anthoine-Elizabet. Elle auoit été donnée par Monsieur l'Abbé de Fancamp, et quand elle fut benite Louis Cheualier et Perrois estoient Marguillier."

Je terminerai par l'épisode suivant qui est une difficulté entre M. Dollier et Jean Arnaud marguillier, lequel avait été élu le 24 janv. 1694. Arnaud, poussé par le zèle de faire prospérer les finances de l'Eglise, et rendre les quêtes plus abondantes, voulait faire quêter les dames à l'Eglise. M. Dollier n'était pas de cette opinion; et à cet effet, le curé écrivit la lettre suivante à son marguillier :

A Monsieur Arnaud Le Jeune marchand
marguillier de cette paroisse.

10 Fev. 1695.

Comme vous fûtes nommé L'an dernier, et que vous auriés dû entrer en charge le deuxième du present mois, iour de la purification nous auons esté estonnés avec tout le monde de vous uoir affecter de ne point prendre vostre rang, et de vous uoir cesser de uous mettre dans le banc des marguilliers aussytôt que aués dû entrer en charge; et ayant esté auerti par Monsiuer de

St. Germain marguillier que non seulement uous ne vouliés plus uous mettre dans ledit banc, mais mesme que uous ne vouliés pas faire La fonction de marguillier, que pour cela uous Luy auiés refusé de uenir uous rendre present pour receuoir ses contes, et que cela prouenoit de ce que uous etiés fasché, de ce que L'on n'auoit pas iugé a propos de remettre Les filles et les femmes a quester, ce qu'elles n'ont pas fait depuis plus de quatre ans, sans que personne y ait trouué a redire, quoiqu'il soit bien vray, qu'il y a vn an Lorsque l'on venoit de uous elire pour marguillier, qu'on proposa a cause de la pauureté de L'Eglise de remettre les questes dans la disposition du sexe, à cause qu'il étoit plus attirant, à quoy on fit des remonstrances, que partout ou les filles et les femmes questotent, les plus zélés ministres de Jesus-Christ et meilleurs paroisiens en gémissotent beaucoup, parcequ'enfin si les choses auoient autrefois commencé par des personnes pieuses, modestes et d'exemple, on ne voyoit que trop souuent les questes se faire par des personnes choisies en beauté et attraits ainsy qu'il se voit en france, se faisant conduire par des Es cuyers, se parant ces iours là d'une façon extraordinaire, donnant des assignations aux Jeunes Messieurs de s'y rencontrer, disant vn tel Jour ie seray questeuse à la paroisse, ne man-

qués pas d'y venir, et d'y faire honneur à ma queste; mesmes quelquefois des personnes connues pour scandaleuses, sont commises pour de telles questes à la vergogne de L'Eglise. Craignant toutes ces choses, et en ayant déia veu icy de petits echantillons, on a doucement exclus les femmes et Les filles de La queste paroissiale, scachant que cela faisoit faire bien plus de pechés mortels, dans nostre Eglise par les mondains (ce qui s'appelle sacrilège à cause du lieu) que cela n'y amassoit d'argent; que mesme il valloit mieux auoir une paroisse pauvre et Innocente, qu'une paroisse plus aizée, mais avec cela infectée de Muquetterie, pensées et desirs criminels, ce qu'ayant raconté a peu pres de la sorte il y a vn an en L'assemblée des marguilliers, de quoy uous deués uous souuenir, d'autant plus que uous y fûtes d'un admirable exemple, disant qu'en vôtres pajs les marguilliers questotent, qu'il falloir que les marguilliers icy fissent voir Le mesme zèle, a quoy Monsieur de St. Germain, qui entroit lors en charge faisant quelque difficulté de le faire, vous taxates publiquement son peu de courage, ladessus vous offrant de L'accompagner dans toutes les questes, l'animant par vostre exemple, ainsy que vous aués fait dans toute l'année, edifiant tous les deux extremement Le public, outre l'utilité que

vous aués apportée a cette Eglise; faut-il apres auoir commencé avec honneur, suiuant Le mouuement de L'esprin divin, que vous uouliés destruire ce que uous aués si genereusement commencé; c'est a quoy nous uous coniurons de ne pas penser, et de venir demain vendredy onzième de ce mois a vne heure apres midy en ce seminaire receuoir les contes de Monsr. de St. Germain en nostre presence et de celles des autres marguilliers, de quoy ledit Sr. de St. Germain vous prie en cet escrit, ne l'ayant pu obtenir par luy mesmes, et au cas que vous persistiés a vouloir desister d'estre marguillier, donnés en vne declaration de vostre main a Messieurs Cueillier et Pottier Anciens marguilliers, que i'ay prié deuons aller trouuer exprès, afin qu'en cas de refus, soit de venir selon uostre charge, et la faire, soit mesmes de nous enuoyer par eux vn billet, ils nous puissent certifier valablement de uos dires et volontés, suiuant le present escrit qui uous seruira de sommation, afin que sur leur rapport, qui sera couché sur le Liure de l'Eglise, on puisse proceder s'il est necessaire a mettre vn marguillier pour remplir vostre place, pour en faire toutes les fonctions et continuer les quêtes que uous aués si bien commencé, dont uous aurés toujours L'honneur, ainsy qu'il sera couché sur

ledit liure, d'auoir part à la première institution en ce lieu. au Reste Monsieur ie ne scaurois croire que ce soit manque de courage, et de bonne volonté, qui vous fassent discontinuer, mais que c'est plutot le besoin de vos affaires, qui vous obligent au plutôt de monter aux outaouays, comme c'est la meilleure, et la plus honorable raison, que uous puissiés auoir de vostre desistement, et qu'asseurement c'est la cause de vos difficultés, ie vous prie de vous le faire tesmoigner par ces messieurs, et les choses se faisant ainsy d'une bonne amitié, et d'un consentement tres-unanime, nous en aurons de nouueaux suiets de prier pour uostre prosperité, avec Messieurs les marguilliers, qui uous prient par moy de respondre, fait en nôtre seminaire de Ville-marie ce dixieme feurier mil six cents quatre vints quinze.

franc. dollier uicaire general
de Monseigneur l'Euesque

Les délégués Cuillerier et Pothier signifièrent cette lettre à Arnaud qui déclara persister dans sa résolution de faire quêter les filles et femmes, et qu'on pouvait nommer un autre marguillier à sa place.

C'est ce qu'on fit le lendemain ; et on élut Claude Pothier pour le remplacer.

Depuis son origine jusqu'à aujourd'hui, la paroisse de Notre-Dame de Montréal, n'a jamais cessé de remplir dignement et fidèlement, les fonctions pour lesquelles ses fondateurs l'avaient destinée.

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The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal

Published Quarterly by the
Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal
Chateau de Ramezay



Third Series.

No. 1

Vol. IX.

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C. A. MARCHAND

Printer to the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society

40 Jacques Cartier Square, Montreal

1912

THE
Antiquarian and Numismatic Society
OF MONTREAL.

Founded 1862

Incorporated 1870

Charter Amended 1912

The aims and objects of the Society are indicated in its name and title. Papers are read before the Society by members and others on topics of Canadian Archaeological, Historical and Numismatic interest and published in its Journal: "The Canadian Antiquarian." The chief object of its concern is the maintenance of the Chateau de Ramezay—built by Claude de Ramezay in 1705—where has been assembled a most interesting, if not, indeed, unique, collection of Portraits, Views, Maps, Documents, Arms, Furniture, Coins, Medals, Relics and Curios of great historical importance, besides a Library of Canadian and other Literature. As admission to the Chateau Museum is free, the Society relies mainly upon a sustaining membership for support in carrying out its objects, and it should be the duty and pleasure of all patriotic citizens to assist in this manner. The Fees are: \$2 Entrance, and \$3 Annual Dues; Life Governorship, \$100 in full payment. All members in good standing receive the Antiquarian gratis with their subscription.

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THE
CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN
AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

Established 1872

Annual Subscription \$2.

Single Copies 50 cents.

This Journal is the official organ of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, in which papers read before the Society appear from time to time.

The Antiquarian is issued quarterly under the direction of an Editing and Publishing Committee elected by the Council, and is sent free to all the Life Governors, and members of the Society paying the Annual Dues,

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